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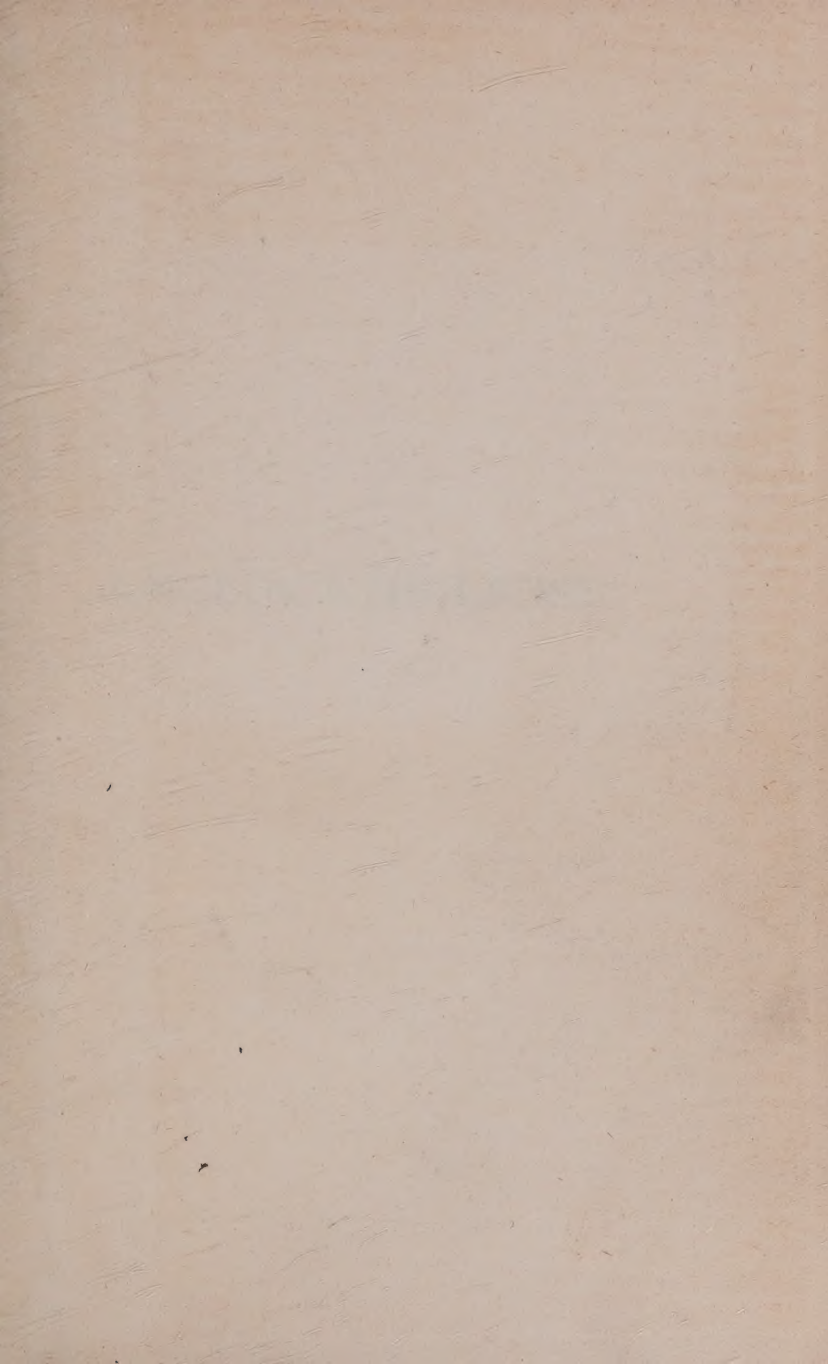
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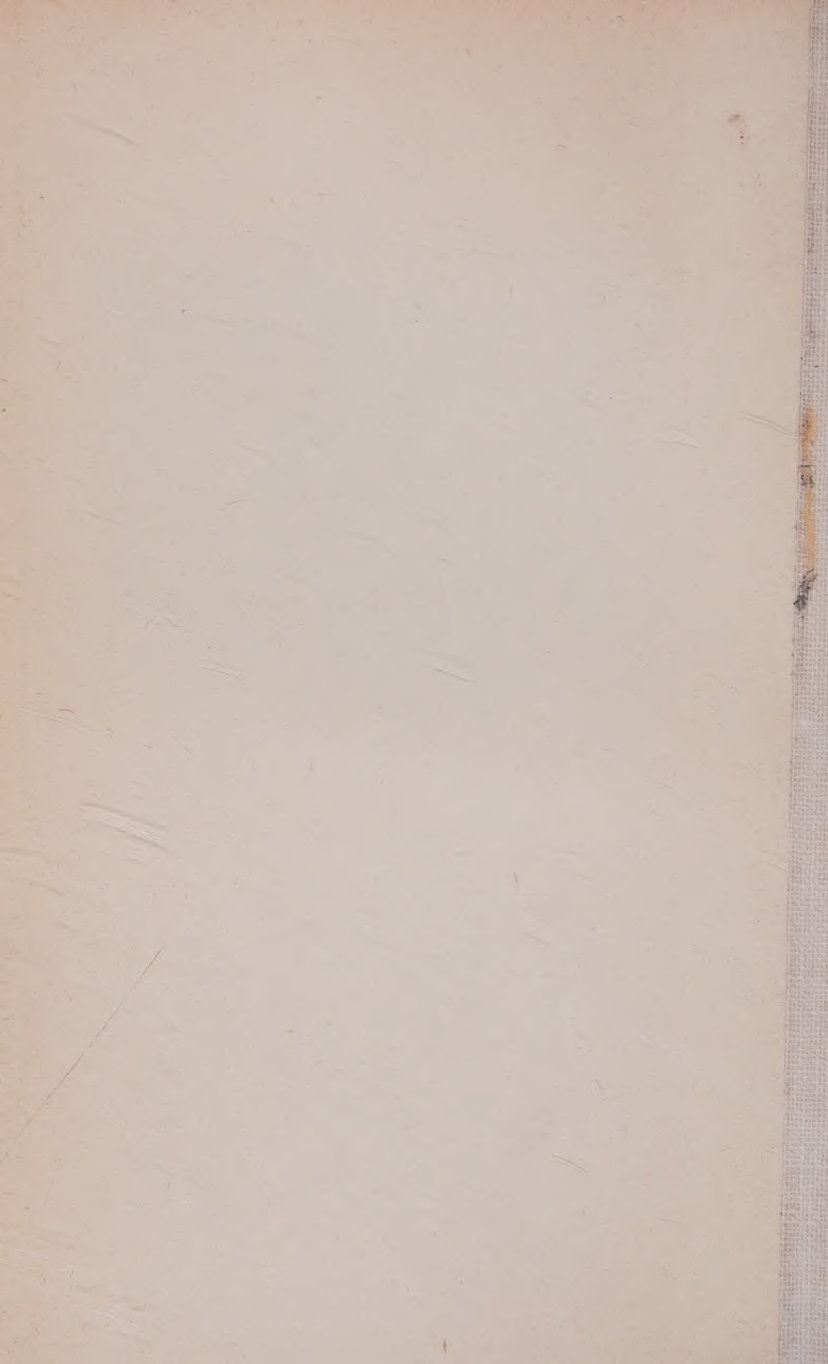
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ANGLO-CATHOLICISM

ANGLO-CATHOLICISM

BY

SHEILA KAYE-SMITH

“The Holy Catholic and Apostolic Faith professed by the whole Church before the division of East and West. More particularly the Communion of the Church of England, as it stands distinguished from all Papal and Puritan innovations and as it adheres to the doctrine of the Cross.”

BISHOP KEN.

CHAPMAN
AND HALL^{LD}



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FOREWORD

THIS book is not a manual of instruction, and I shall make no attempt to explain Catholic doctrines nor ordinary Catholic practices. Anyone who wants to know the Catholic Church's teaching on such points as, say, the Apostolic Succession, the Eucharistic Presence, Fasting, or Sacramental Marriage, had better consult one of the innumerable manuals published on these subjects, or the Tract-case which is almost always to be found in every church where the Catholic faith is taught. Catholicism has suffered too much from insistence on details. Often when a Catholic is asked in what respects his faith differs from other forms of religion, he will enter on some explanation of the doctrine of the Real Presence, the position of Our Lady and the Saints, or even on a defence of Ceremonial. But these are the results of difference rather than its causes. The distinguishing marks of Catholicism are two. First—the subordination of the part to the whole, so that the individual cannot exist without the fellowship, and

must combine his separate experience with the corporate experience of the fellowship, and consider the fellowship in all his thoughts, words, and works. Second—the use and sanctification of matter by spirit, the inward working through the outward by virtue of the Incarnation of the Son of God ; in other words, the Sacramental System. All details of doctrine and practice ultimately resolve themselves under one of those two heads for their cause and justification.

It is the same with Anglo-Catholicism. One does not convincingly defend one's position as a Catholic in the Church of England by an attack on Papal Supremacy, or a repudiation of the superstitions of South Italian peasants or South American Indians. One is an Anglo-Catholic because one believes that the Church of England is the Catholic Church in this country—that she was so before the Reformation, that, in spite of changes and spoliations, she remained so at the time of the Reformation, and has been so ever since—that, in spite of drawbacks and difficulties, she is the Holy Spirit's appointed sphere of operation in this country, and that through her the Divine Intention works for this land.

The name Anglo-Catholic is used throughout with a profound sense of its drawbacks. Not only is it an etymological atrocity, but it is still more unlucky in suggesting a special brand of

Catholicism—a limited universalism—which is absurd. It is also treacherous in suggesting a special Catholic brand of Anglicanism, whereas if the whole Church of England is not Catholic, it is vain for any party or movement within her to call itself so.

But it is really the only convenient label for the successors of the Tractarians to-day, and so long as it is not regarded as anything more than a label it will do for the present.

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CHAPTER I
NOT WITHOUT WITNESS

§ I

ANGLO-CATHOLICISM BEFORE THE REFORMATION

IT would be interesting to know how much modern improvements in the means of communication have to do with the present position of the Papacy. A couple of hundred years ago, when the railway, the telegraph and the telephone were unknown, it was impossible for the Papacy to keep in close contact with its out-lying dominions, and a great deal of power and initiative had to be left in the hands of the bishops. As we go back into the centuries the distance between Rome and its margins becomes greater still; a journey of the Papal Legate to England, for instance, was a matter of several months, therefore it is not surprising to find that such journeys were few and that the Anglican Church was left to get on very much as it chose.

At the Reformation it was chiefly the out-lying districts that threw off the Papal yoke—England, Scotland, Scandinavia, Denmark, the Netherlands, the eastern portion of Germany. Those countries which were geographically near Rome,

such as France, Spain, Italy, Austria, remained loyal. No doubt in them the Papacy was more securely established, and its overthrow, even if desired, a more difficult matter. England, because of her remoteness, had never been thoroughly absorbed by Rome. Large districts owed their conversion to the Celtic missionaries, and even after the union of the Celtic and Roman mission fields under Theodore of Canterbury her links with Rome were slight, consisting only in the reception of the Pallium by the English Archbishops and in the payment of Peter's Pence. When William the Conqueror took the English throne he refused to make the oath of allegiance to Rome, which had always been made by the Dukes of Normandy, on the ground that such an oath had never hitherto been made by an English King.

For centuries afterwards there was a battle of mixed loyalties. Now and then the Popes would become concerned about their position in England and strive to consolidate it by appointments among the Bishops or even among the parochial clergy. These would lead almost invariably to revolt and protest. Magna Charta was not merely a protest against the political encroachments of the King, but against the political and religious encroachments of the Papacy which had made John more thoroughly its

vassal than any previous monarch, though none, of course, had ever denied the Pope's supremacy in theory, however much he might have defied him in practice.

The repudiation of Papal authority made by Henry VIII was merely the last of many protests, which happened to be made at a more significant time than the earlier ones. If it had not been for the Continental Reformation and the weakness of the Pope's power in Europe, no doubt his claims would have been reasserted in England before very long, and Henry's revolt would have gone the way of earlier revolts in history. But he chose a moment of disorder and weakness in the Church, and was therefore able to make a breach which in spite of some temporary efforts at healing has continued down the centuries.

The causes of the Reformation in England are at first sight ignominious; they entirely lack the element of brave protest and religious fervour which made Luther nail his theses to the door of Wittenberg University. On the other hand, Henry cannot be left entirely as an unscrupulous tyrant throwing off a religious yoke which refused to allow him to give rein to his lust, nor can the Pope be regarded as the first Crusader against divorce law reform. To begin with, Henry had not asked for a divorce in the modern sense of the word, since divorce with power to re-marry was

unknown in his time, but for a declaration of nullity. He had married by Papal dispensation within the table of prohibited degrees, and now wished the Pope to annul his predecessor's dispensation and to declare the marriage with Catherine of Aragon null and void.

There is no reason in precedent why the Pope should not have done so, since declarations of nullity were not uncommon in an age when divorce in the modern sense was unknown. But he had his position to consider. Catherine's uncle, the Emperor Charles, was the most powerful monarch on the Continent, one whose wrath was even more to be dreaded than that of English Harry, one moreover who was fighting the Pope's battle against the revolting German States. A quarrel with this potentate would have been extremely dangerous to the Papacy in its present situation—the wrath of England was a smaller risk. On the other hand the Pope did not immediately dismiss Henry's claim; he kept the matter undecided for several years, refusing to make a pronouncement on either side, which seems to show that considerations other than religious or moral were at work. He finally gave permission for the case to be tried in England, though its ultimate issue was to be referred to Rome, and it was at this point that Henry decided to take Cranmer's advice and settle the matter

entirely in his own dominions. The Papacy had not impressed him either with its power or its straight dealing, and he chose that moment to cast off its authority, setting up in characteristic Tudor fashion his own in its place.

Apart from that Henry had not much interest in the Reformation. He had written a thesis against Luther for which the Pope had made him Defender of the Faith, and there is no evidence that his theological beliefs underwent much change after he had made the rupture between England and Rome. The Litany was translated into English, and the English Bible was ordered to be read publicly every Sunday—otherwise little or no alteration was made in the Service books.

The Dissolution of the Monasteries was not brought about by doctrinal considerations but primarily on the ground of their Papal tendencies. The monasteries were not under the control of the English bishops but owed direct allegiance to the Papacy, therefore after the rupture they provided a strong revolutionary and Papal element in the country, and it was in Henry's interest to suppress them. It was also in his interest and in the interests of his courtiers to acquire the lands and other possessions with which the Monasteries were endowed. Charges of treason and of immorality were trumped up first against the

lesser houses and then against the greater, resulting in an orgy of sacrilege which has no parallel in English history. A large amount of evidence has been brought forward by later historians both for and against the Monasteries, but it is difficult to show that their moral lapses were other than the exceptions to be found in all times and communities, or that any worse general charge can be brought against them than that they were often bad landlords. On the other hand, their dissolution deprived the country of its schools, poorhouses, seminaries and hospitals, divorcing philanthropy from religion and creating problems which are with us unsolved to-day.

The Reformation in England did not begin as a religious but as a political movement, and it is improbable that Henry wished it to go much further than it went in his own time. His theological sympathies were with Erasmus and Colet rather than Luther and Melancthon. But it is unreasonable to light a trail and not expect the gunpowder to explode, or to open the flood-gates and not expect the tide to rush in. The tide of Continental Protestantism was soon to rush over England as the result of Henry's doings. He was not unique among the English Kings in his revolt against the Papacy, but he was unique in the circumstances which made that revolt more than the politics of a reign.

§ 2

ANGLO-CATHOLICISM IN THE REFORMATION ERA

Henry's repudiation of Papal authority and his destruction of the Monasteries, which were probably the strongest Catholic influence in the country, also his own personal selection in the matter of Bishops, whose appointment he had taken on himself after the rupture with Rome, opened the door to the Protestant theology which was thenceforward to invade *Ecclesia Anglicana*.

At his death the continental tide poured in, not overwhelmingly but gradually. The mere translation of certain parts of the Service Book into English was not enough, a new Service Book was called for—not by the people, who remained passive victims rather than active agents throughout the changes and retractions of the period, but by those in authority in Church and State, notably Cranmer and the Protector Somerset.

The first Prayer Book of Edward VI, though superior in many ways to its successors, shows the first encroachments of Lutheranism on Anglican theology. It retained much of the old ways, indeed Cranmer claimed that over three-quarters of the old missal was incorporated in

the new. The use of chrism at Baptism, a form of administration of the Sacrament of Unction, Reservation for the sick, the use of the word "Mass,"¹ oral communion,² and above all an undislocated Canon, make the first Prayer Book in better accord with normal Catholic usage than any later versions. But though used, it was never popular; those who liked the old ways naturally disapproved of any tampering with them, while it was far too conservative for the extreme Reformers, who worked for a still further revision, the result of which was the second Prayer Book of 1552.

This is the high water mark of the Continental tide. Not only Germany, but Switzerland raged in England; moderate and sacramental Lutheranism was superseded by Calvinism and Zwinglianism. These cast their shadow chiefly over the Communion Service, from which the title Mass was now deleted. The primitive order of the Canon was broken up in order to emphasize the idea of Communion and minimize the idea of sacrifice. The words of administration were changed from the first to the second half of the sentence now in use, and so became susceptible of a Zwinglian interpretation. The "Black Rubric" which stands at the end of the present

¹ See Appendix A.

² Communion given in the mouth.

Communion Service was introduced in a more extreme form, which denied not only "any corporal presence of Christ's natural Flesh and Blood" but "any real and essential presence," thus repudiating Catholic doctrine instead of mediæval exaggeration.

Parliament, however, in promulgating the second Prayer Book of Edward VI, expressly declared that the first book was "a very godly order" and "agreeable to the Word of God and the primitive Church, being comfortable to all good people," thus securing Cranmer's base and post-Reformation Anglican theology that breadth which makes it difficult to prove that any single doctrine was ever intentionally excluded from it.

The second Prayer Book was probably never in use; the death of Edward meant the undoing of all Cranmer's work whether in its moderation or in its extremity. But in the boy King's reign the Reformation had definitely become a religious movement. It was no longer an acute form of the old question of Roman authority which had always been a problem in English religion and politics; it had definitely become a matter of doctrine, and of opposition not only to the Papacy, nor merely to mediæval error and innovation, but to certain aspects of the Catholic faith which had been confounded with them.

At the accession of Mary the old order was

restored. With the help of Cardinal Pole she set herself to right the wrongs of the two preceding reigns. There are few more tragic figures in English history than Queen Mary—Bloody Mary of historical travesty. Consumed by her love of the Holy Catholic and Roman Church, acutely conscious of her father's guilt in his dealings with it, she devoted her life and reign to a work of reparation, to the return of her country to the Faith. The methods she used are seen as brutal and unscrupulous in the light of to-day, but they were the methods of her time and the methods of any party in power; burning was the statutory punishment for heresy, nor was it merely vindictive or unnatural, when one considers the mediæval view of the seriousness of theological error. Mary struggled to purge the Church of England of heresy and to restore it from schism, but she died after a few years, knowing that at her death all her work would be undone. Her failure to produce an heir who would carry on her labours after her was the bitterest grief of a bitter and sorrowful life.

Her sister and successor, Elizabeth, is in many ways the most remarkable as Mary is the most tragic of English Queens. She was a true daughter of her father—clever, tyrannical, unscrupulous and capable, hating equally Continental Protestantism and the Pope. Left

to herself, in a securer position than she was able actually to occupy throughout her reign, Elizabeth might have made a settlement on lines closer to Anglo-Catholicism, since she was acute and learned enough to disentangle Catholic doctrine from mediæval misrepresentation of it. What actually took place was less her desire than her tactics. She was put in an extremely awkward position. The old Roman hierarchy would not support her, though she treated individual bishops with great consideration and kindness, and there was nothing for her to do but to enlist the support of those bishops, deprived by Mary, who represented the extreme Calvinistic school of Edward VI.

Calvinism may be described as the Modernism of the sixteenth century. Indeed the whole Reformation is largely an intellectual movement, intimately connected with the Revival of Learning, and this may account in some measure for the absence of saints among its roll of leaders, as compared with the counter-reformation which is adorned with such names as Ignatius Loyola, Theresa of Avila, Francis de Sales and Francis Xavier. Elizabeth herself was an intellectual woman, and therefore had a certain sympathy with the New Theology, and an undoubted contempt for the superstitions against which it was a justifiable though too cocksure protest.

She was forced by the only available hierarchy to go back to the second Prayer Book of Edward VI, though the first would doubtless have been more to her taste, but she did not take it as it stood. Certain important changes were made, chiefly in the Communion Service and in the Black Rubric, bringing them into better accord with Catholic doctrine; the Ornaments Rubric was also placed in its present position, requiring the ceremonial standard of the first years of Edward VI, though owing to the difficulties of the time it was never enforced. The words of the oath of allegiance to the Crown were also modified, so that Elizabeth became merely Supreme Governor, where her father had declared himself to be Supreme Head, of the Church.

On this basis she and her episcopal advisers did their best to establish uniformity. It was intended that the Book of Common Prayer, thus modified and purged of its more Protestant blemishes should be used by Roman Catholics as well as by extreme Puritans, and this actually was the case, though no doubt under duress, until the excommunication of Elizabeth in 1570. It was not until this excommunication that the persecution of Roman Catholics in England began, which tends to show that British hatred of Rome and its ways has always been political rather than religious.

On Elizabeth's own religious position it is hard to dogmatize. She was crowned and heard Mass according to the Roman rite in Westminster Abbey, but at the same time was willing to do her utmost for the accommodation of Protestants. It is known that she herself had strong views on such doctrines as the Real Presence and such discipline as clerical marriage, also that she was fond of ceremonial. But she was true Tudor, subjecting her personal religion to her love of power; she was determined not to lose her throne, and in her efforts to keep it may be said to have lost everything else. If there is one figure more tragic than Mary dying disappointed of her hope, knowing that her work was in vain and at her death would be undone, it is the figure of the aged Elizabeth, dying huddled and panic-stricken upon the floor, her mind a torture-chamber of future fears and past regrets.

§ 3

ANGLO-CATHOLICISM IN THE SEVENTEENTH AND EIGHTEENTH CENTURIES

The seventeenth century has been looked upon in some quarters as the heyday of Anglo-Catholicism before the Oxford Movement, just as the eighteenth century has been regarded as its

period of desolation. Both these ideas will need revising.

The seventeenth century no doubt gives us some illustrious names, and there was a high standard of doctrine and devotion as well as of practical efficiency among the seventeenth century bishops. Andrewes, Laud, Juxon, Taylor, Gauden, Cosin, Sancroft and Ken represent the flower of the English episcopate; no doubt they fell considerably short of modern Anglo-Catholic standards, but they gave up their lives to the ideal of a sound, reformed and free Catholicism as opposed to Papal innovations on one side and Puritan innovations on the other. There were also parish priests who showed the true Catholic spirit—such very different men as George Herbert and Robert Herrick; there were the mystics, Vaughan and Traherne; there was the devout and Catholic-minded King; there was the revival of the religious life at Little Gidding. But the general mass of the English nation was not much influenced by these manifestations. Anglo-Catholicism was in the reverse position to what it is to-day; it existed chiefly in high places—in the episcopate. The ordinary parish clergy and the laity were little concerned with it.

Certainly the revision of the Prayer Book which took place during this century was not able to do much for its enrichment on Catholic

lines, as would almost certainly have been the case if the people had been in sympathy with their leaders. But the democratic religion was Protestant if not actually Puritan; memories of the Marian persecution, while yet far enough off to have acquired much legendary exaggeration, were nevertheless so near as to be still terrifying. Catholicism had become identified with Romanism, and Romanism meant the Pope, the Jesuits, the Inquisition, the stake, and all the bogies of the day.

The seventeenth century did, however, see the deliverance of the Church in one important matter. Calvinism was the legacy of the Elizabethan age; it was the popular philosophical speculation of her day; but during the seventeenth century it may be said to have been purged out of the Church and to have become a sectarian doctrine only. The vitality of *Ecclesia Anglicana* has been shown again and again by her power to get rid of deleterious matter; she is influenced by it but never absorbs it. One by one she has driven Calvinism, Deism and Continental Protestantism out of her system, and no doubt she will deal in the same way with present-day Modernism. Calvinism was the Modernism of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries; it was the fashionable intellectual pose; but when revived in the eighteenth century

by Whitefield, it was already regarded as something alien, and did not find even the temporary home that Wesleyanism found in the Anglican communion.

The attempts of the Caroline divines at ceremonial and doctrinal enrichment failed to penetrate the Protestant mass, nevertheless they did an untold service to their Church in delivering her from a perverse theological attitude, and bringing her temperamentally at least into line with the other great branches of Christendom in the East and in the West.

If we are really to decide on the heyday of pre-Oxford Anglo-Catholicism, we shall find it not in the seventeenth century but in the early days of the eighteenth, in the reign of Queen Anne. Queen Anne, like Charles I, had definitely Catholic tendencies in her personal religion; "Queen Anne's Bounty" was an act of reparation—her effort to restore to the Church some of the possessions torn from her by Henry VIII. It consists of the court revenues derived from the clerical taxes of Tenth and First-fruits, used once again for the purposes of religion. Queen Anne and her children had their confessor, and the practice of sacramental confession was sufficiently general to have attracted the attention of Thackeray when making researches in preparation for his novel "Esmond." More than

one character in the book makes use of the Sacrament of Penance. Contemporary records, whether historical or as found in the literature of the period, show us attendance at the daily services as a common, indeed a fashionable thing. The devotional manuals of the day teach very clearly such doctrines as the Real Presence and the Eucharistic Sacrifice.¹

It was political rather than religious causes which brought about the decay of Anglo-Catholicism in the eighteenth century, and with it the decay of the Church. The secession of the Non-Jurors robbed Anglicanism of her best sons. Ken had been lost to the episcopate since the accession of William and Mary, and at the death of Anne, and the coming of the Hanoverian Kings the movement had a great increase from the ranks of the High Church and Jacobite clergy. At the start the Non-Jurors still worshipped in their parish churches, though no longer holding office, but later on they came to have churches of their own and indeed to construct a liturgy which in its Eastern affinities forecast the modern Anglo-Catholic position and led to attempted negotiations for re-union with the Eastern Orthodox Church. But the history of the Non-Jurors is the history of the evils of secession; they drifted

¹ See "English Church Life from the Restoration to the Tractarian Movement," by J. Wickham Legg.

into isolation and stagnation, and in a few years the movement was either re-absorbed in the English Church or had passed over into the Church of Rome.

The High Church party suffered through its association with Jacobitism. The Rebellion of 1715 and, later on, the Rebellion of 1745 brought about its complete political discredit; it ceased to be an influence in the State or in the Church, and the power went into the hands of very different men.

The eighteenth century saw the rise of the Latitudinarians and of the Deists—the Broad Churchmen and Modernists of their day. Deterioration set in not only in England but on the Continent. The French Church, for instance, became inconceivably lax and corrupt and had her large share in bringing about the Revolution. Nevertheless, just as the palmy days of early Anglo-Catholicism were not, as is popularly supposed, so much in the seventeenth century as in the early days of the century that followed, so also its darkest hour belongs rather to the early nineteenth century than to any time in the eighteenth.

In spite of the collapse of the High Church party, the rise of the Deists and the influence of such a man as Archbishop Hoadley in St. Augustine's seat, conditions were still far from

being as bad as they became in the early eighteen hundreds. Certain Catholic practices survived even though in some cases they must have largely lost their meaning. Fasting Communion lingered on into the next century, Rogation Day processions continued in country districts, especially in the West, also such customs as the Sign of the Cross, bowing to the Altar, and even Reservation for the Sick;¹ while in the diocese of Sodor and Man Bishop Wilson kept alive the best traditions of Andrewes and Ken.

The novels of Fielding and Richardson show us country clergymen who were truly fathers in God to their people. It would be difficult to find in fiction a better type of Catholic priest than Parson Abraham Adams in Fielding's "Joseph Andrews." Exalted above his people only by the dignity of his priestly office, he is in all other respects their servant and friend. If fiction can truly be said to hold up a mirror to society, and if we see reflected in it such men as Mr. Abraham Adams, Dr. Richardson and Dr. Bartlett, we cannot think that the pastoral standard of those

¹ "I am inclined to think that something like the custom of the first Prayer Book . . . has had a greater traditional continuance among us than is perhaps generally supposed. I have heard of the Sacrament being taken to a sick woman directly after a public celebration at Cork Castle, fifty years ago, and I am told that the like tradition exists at Pentridge." —John Wordsworth, "Further Considerations on Public Worship," p. 15.

days was so low as some would imagine, though no doubt the evils of plurality were increasing, and there were also Parson Trullibers who cared for hogs rather than for souls.

The early Methodists may be regarded as typical of the ideals, though not of the general practice, of their day. Their weekly communions and their weekly fasts were merely a revival of Church life which was dying out; they were the revived High Church party. But in spite of them, English religion was rapidly deteriorating under the Hanoverians. When again the mirror of fiction is held up we see a very different picture in the novels of Jane Austen. Her best parsons are merely moral and good-mannered, her worst, though lacking the earlier coarseness, are ludicrous examples of folly and inefficiency. Neither the good nor the bad is in any sense a shepherd of souls or a father of the poor. We can understand how in such an atmosphere the fervent spirit of Wesleyanism ceased to breathe. No doubt the schism was due to Wesley's wild act in consecrating Coke, after which his entreaties to his followers to remain in the Anglican fold were meaningless and unavailing. Wesley, like Moses, smote the rock, but it was the episcopal bench of his time—inert, worldly, corrupt, indifferent to the spread of Christ's Kingdom—which took the place of the goading Israelites and drove a great man to folly.

With the Wesleyans the Church lost the last of her ardent sons—the deterioration which had set in after the secession of the Non-Jurors was complete. Fortunately all Wesley's adherents did not secede formally, and no doubt he had a wide influence outside the immediate society of Methodists. The lives and prayers of certain evangelical clergy unknown to history, mostly buried in remote hamlets and country vicarages, kept the Church alive until in his good time the Spirit of God woke her out of sleep.

§ 4

THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND'S DARKEST HOUR

At the beginning of the nineteenth century the Bishops drew their revenues but were seldom in their dioceses; almost each one of them had his town house which he occupied during the London season; episcopacy was regarded chiefly as a social function. The parochial clergy often held livings in plurality and by deputy, and in many cases never visited their flocks, leaving them in the charge of curates. As a result the parishes were badly served, since two or even three might be under the care of one overworked, underpaid priest. The churches were closed throughout the

week and opened on Sundays for perhaps one service only. Holy Communion was rarely administered except at the great Festivals, a quarterly Mass being considered a lavish provision for the needs of the people—as possibly it was, since in the year 1810 there were only three communicants on Easter day in St. Paul's Cathedral.

To the spiritual slackness of those times must be added the fact that the Church had the disadvantage of belonging to the unpopular political party. The gibe that the Church of England is the Conservative party at prayer, has never been truly deserved except in the early days of the nineteenth century. The Church of England had always been Royalist—she had been linked with the Stuart cause since the days of King Charles I, but when Jacobitism died, she became allied with a purely political and non-royal Toryism, such as, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, was unpopular with the whole nation. She stood for all that was reactionary in politics as well as for what was stagnant in religion. Her opposition to the Reform Bill brought her into bad odour with the Whig Government as well as with the country at large. Parson and squire were united in blocking the efforts of the working-classes to make their voice heard in the government of the country. Those

were the days immediately following the French Revolution, when certain men in England were inclined to look longingly at the ways of France. There the French clergy had gone the way of the French aristocracy in exile, into prison and to the guillotine.

The Government warned the English Bishops "to set their house in order." Already ten bishoprics had been suppressed in the then Established Church of Ireland, and it looked as if similar tactics might be adopted in England also. To emphasize these veiled threats from high places there was an outbreak of anti-clerical rioting by the mob. The Bishop of Bristol's palace was burnt down and a great tide of popular feeling surged against the Church which stood in the way of enlightenment and reform, which blocked the path of material progress with the huge weight of her spiritual inertia.

To most thinking men the end was in sight. "The Church of England as it is no human power can save," wrote Dr. Arnold of Rugby. He had his own plans for restoring her. He thought it essential that she should combine with the Nonconformist sects in a kind of State federation. Had this plan been adopted she would probably have lost the outward body of her catholicity as she had already lost its spirit. But there are two ways of saving a seemingly lost

cause: one is for it to surrender and make terms with the enemy, the other is for it to assert itself with a new courage and power. It was the latter course and not the former which saved the Church of England. She rose from the dead, not by means of any Protestant or Erastian federation, but by a sudden and heroic reassertion of her Catholic and spiritual claims.

Dean Stanley's statement that the Oxford Movement was brought about by political causes, by the pressure of the Reform Bill of 1832, is doubtless true in that it was political causes which precipitated the crisis. But the ideals and methods of the revival were purely spiritual, and challenged and overthrew the material and political schemes which Arnold and others had suggested.

There is no greater testimony to the catholicity and inherent vitality of the English Church than the way in which she raised herself from the dead, not by any help from without, from political friends or from other religious bodies sympathetically fighting for their own existence, but by sheer assertion of her spiritual dignity. There is no similar instance of a sect having thus revived itself. In the withered branch of *Ecclesia Anglicana* still ran the living sap of the true Vine, and it was that which enabled her once more to renew her youth, to grow green and to bear fruit.

CHAPTER II
OXFORD NONSENSE

§ I

THE BEGINNING OF THE MOVEMENT

"The respectable people whose opinions are still sound, are to a certain extent right when they say that the tide of Popery which has flowed over the land has come from Oxford. It did come immediately from Oxford, but how did it get to Oxford? Why, from Scott's novels! Oh, that sermon, which was the first manifestation of Oxford feeling, preached at Oxford by a divine of weak and confused intellect . . . the present writer remembers perfectly well how on reading some extracts from it at the time in a newspaper on the top of a coach he exclaimed: 'Why, the simpleton has been pilfering from Walter Scott's novels!'"

THUS George Borrow delivers himself in his best style on "Oxford Nonsense," "Canting Nonsense," "Charley o'er the Waterism," and "Scotch Gentility Nonsense." That staunch champion of England and Protestantism did not see National Apostacy where Keble saw it, but in a growing feeling on the part of Englishmen after unity with their own past and with the nations around them.

Borrow linked up the Oxford Movement with the Romantic Revival of the first years of the nineteenth century. The religious stagnation and political whiggery of those times had been the

contrast of a growing sense of the Romantic and the Picturesque in literature and art. The idea of the "Picturesque" was beginning to inspire the painters of that day—Etty, Constable and Old Crome, seeking beauty away from the formality and classicism which had been the gods of the last hundred years—while the idea of the "Romantic" swayed such writers as Horace Walpole and Mrs. Radcliffe, and finally found its greatest name in Scott.

The Romantic Revival is typical of the age from which it sprang, that is to say there is very little real romance in it at all. It is stilted and artificial, full of false stresses and misconceptions; the genuine spirit of romance is missing, except perhaps when we come to the novels of Scott. But it is at least the halting expression of a return to interest in the past, an enlargement of ideas beyond the narrow limits of Great Britain. When we compare the novels of Fielding with those of Horace Walpole and Mrs. Radcliffe and their school, we find in spite of the artistic inferiority of the latter an immensely wider range of interest and ideas; they are no longer preoccupied exclusively with the present day and the British country-side, they roam in the past and in foreign cities, they show at least an effort to understand mediæval conditions and foreign nationalities.

This wider view, both historically and geographically, would be essential to any religious revival on Catholic lines. The Oxford Movement concerned itself historically with the centuries before the Reformation; it took them out of the mouldy text-books of the past and boldly brought them into the main stream of religious consciousness. While geographically it attempted to break down the barriers which since the sixteenth century had cut off the Church of England from the religious experience of Europe, and to give that Church a share in the universal experience, with a view to restoring at last the outward fellowship.

But the Romantic Revival was only one side of the national preparation for the Oxford Movement. There had been also a preparation on sterner lines, on the lines of John the Baptist when he cried in the wilderness "Repent ye, for the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand." The Romantic movement had prepared the nation for the reception of the new message, but the messengers themselves had been trained in the school of the Evangelical Revival, far away from romance, in an atmosphere of literal and narrow piety whose lessons were not those of history and culture but of experience and the soul.

"Repent ye, for the Kingdom of Heaven is at hand!" That cry had gone up and down

England during the second half of the last century on the lips of Wesley and his preachers, and though as a corporate movement the Evangelical Revival had passed beyond Anglican borders, much of its influence still remained, even in homes which, like Keble's, repudiated all allegiance to it.

John Wesley and Walter Scott, those two incongruous names, stand side by side as the forerunners who prepared the way for Anglo-Catholicism. They emphasize the two aspects of the Movement—the ascetic and romantic. It has been a common mistake to lose sight of the former in the latter, but in any true Catholicism the spirit of fasting and prayer goes side by side with the spirit of beauty and joy.

Keble's Assize sermon on "National Apostasy," delivered in St. Mary's, Oxford, on July 14th, 1833, has always been considered the starting point of the Movement; but in spite of George Borrow's comments it does not seem to have attracted much attention at the time, possibly owing to the circumstances of its delivery. On the other hand, it did not pass entirely without notice. J. B. Mozley wrote of it, "I cannot help thinking it a kind of exordium of a great revolution." It exhorted the National Church to save herself by the only effectual means—the reassertion of her spiritual authority,

and of her unity both with her own past and with the rest of Christendom.

Ten days later a conference took place at Hadleigh in Suffolk, which was really more momentous than the sermon. Keble himself was not present at it, but those who were had all come under his influence. Hugh James Rose, the Rector of Hadleigh, William Palmer, Arthur Philip Perceval and Richard Hurrell Froude represented between them all the older Universities—Oxford, Cambridge, and Dublin. All except Rose lived in Oxford, and all were on terms of close personal friendship with Keble. The purpose of their discussion was how to save the Church of England in this her darkest hour of aggression without and betrayal within.

Such a scheme as that advocated by Arnold and generally popular with the Latitudinarian party was unthinkable to these men, who saw no hope for the Church except that which Keble had pointed out to her—the reassertion of her spiritual powers and reclaiming of her true inheritance. Two preliminary points were agreed on—to fight for the doctrine of the Apostolic Succession and for the integrity of the Prayer Book. At this time the clergy were inclined to regard themselves merely as officials of the State or parochial overseers rather than as successors to the Apostles and shepherds of

souls; while the general custom of the Church had sunk far below the Prayer Book level of decency and order. It took many years of hard fighting in the teeth of much opposition before the standard of public worship and administration of the Sacraments required by the letter of the Prayer Book was actually restored; indeed even now in some quarters that restoration is not complete.

From the first the leaders of the Oxford Movement were at issue with the Latitudinarian or Broad Church party, which still looked to its rival scheme for restoring the prestige of the English Church. Evangelical and Protestant opposition did not begin till later, when the famous Tracts appeared. The Movement was at first entirely academic and its followers were known as the "Apostolics."

§ 2

THE OXFORD LEADERS

The three great leaders, Keble, Newman, and Pusey, were all Fellows of Oriel. John Keble was the son of a country clergyman of the old-fashioned High Church school, such as had managed to survive through eighteenth century Latitudinarianism and Evangelicalism. Keble himself had come up to Oxford at the age of fifteen and had had a brilliant career, taking a Double First Class, winning both the English and Latin Essays, and being made a Fellow of Oriel when he was only nineteen. He was a poet as well as a scholar, though in this respect a little too heavily bound by the conventions of his time. For many years he was Professor of Poetry at Oxford, and in 1827 published anonymously "The Christian Year," a collection of poems which is still well known, and was once famous. In spite of his great gifts his real interest always lay in parish work, and he spent his life mostly in small country parishes, first in the Cotswolds as curate, and finally as Vicar of Hursley. He stands for the pastoral spirit of Catholicism,

which has always been such a strong element in the Revival and which has given it its most beloved if not its most illustrious names.

John Henry Newman, Keble's brilliant friend, disciple and fellow-worker, was in all respects his contrast. He was a London banker's son and was brought up as a Liberal in politics and an Evangelical in religion. He failed to get a First Class at the University owing to a breakdown from overwork, but he won a Fellowship at Oriel before he was twenty-two. He was made Vicar of St. Mary's, the University Church, in 1828. Newman stands for intellectual brilliance and eager spiritual quest as compared with the pastoral piety and simple, unadventurous faith of Keble. He is in many ways the most interesting of the Oxford leaders, the most brilliant, the most lovable, the most adventurous. He alone of the three great principals was driven to despair of the cause he had espoused. His flight may have been higher than theirs, but he failed to sustain it. Therefore the Movement could not keep him, though his influence on its course was untold and he will always be representative of a large section of Anglo-Catholics, by no means inevitably those who follow his footsteps on the road to Rome.

The third great leader of the Revival, Dr. Edward Bouverie Pusey, joined it later than the

others, about a year after the famous Tracts had begun. He, too, was a Fellow of Oriel, having been elected a year later than Newman, in 1823. He was remarkable for his first-hand acquaintance with the Universities of Germany and with German theological literature, which was now giving rise to a new critical school of Biblical study. He was also a most learned Orientalist, and unlike other English scholars of that day his name was known in the Universities of Europe. In 1823 he was appointed Regius Professor of Hebrew at Oxford, a position which he held for fifty-four years.

It is therefore not surprising that his joining the Movement gave it an intellectual prominence which it might have lacked without him. Newman wrote: "Dr. Pusey gave us a position and a name . . . he had a vast influence in consequence of his deep religious seriousness, the munificence of his charities, his Professorship, his family connections and his easy relations with the University authorities."¹ It would have been possible to regard Keble and Newman and the younger disciples simply as a body of hot-headed enthusiasts without much weight of experience or learning, but it was impossible to regard Dr. Pusey in such a light; his adherence forced the Movement into the consideration of

¹ "Apologia," p. 136.

thinking men. Until his death he occupied the position of unofficial head; indeed the Revival was named after him in many quarters, though the word "Puseyite" was generally a term of contempt. In spite of this it found its way into foreign languages as the official name of the Movement—"Puséisme" in France, "Puseismus" and "Puseista" in Germany and Italy, while it even appears as *πouxεισμός* in Greek.¹

Pusey is perhaps neither the most interesting nor the most attractive figure of those days—Newman may be described as the former, Keble as the latter—but he stands for the Movement's most solid and characteristic qualities. Like Keble he seems to have accepted his position as leader while taking little or no part in public life, devoting himself entirely to preaching and writing, though at the same time devoutly practising his functions as a priest of the Church. Till nearly the end of his life, when he was forced to adopt a less strenuous rule, he celebrated the Holy Mysteries daily at four or five in the morning.

Each of these three great leaders—Keble, Newman, and Pusey—may be said to stand for a different aspect of the Oxford Movement. Keble stands for pastoral piety, Newman for intellectual brilliance, and Pusey for sound learning. But

¹ Church, "Oxford Movement," p. 183.

besides these three there were several remarkable men associated with the Revival at Oxford in its early days. Of these the most brilliant was Richard Hurrell Froude, who had been a pupil of Keble's at Oriel. Like the other pioneers of the Movement he had had a successful University career and was also a Fellow of his College, being made a Tutor while still a layman in 1827. Froude would no doubt have done remarkable work for the Revival if it had not been for his early death in 1836. He was full of enthusiasm, full of individuality and full of humour. He had also something about him of the mediæval saint and ascetic. Psychologically he was akin to Newman, though with both a greater degree of levity and a greater degree of sternness, a combination which would, one feels, probably have saved him from taking Newman's step from Anglicanism to Rome.

The other three members of the Hadleigh conference—Rose, Perceval, and Palmer—were all rather dignified clergymen of the old-fashioned school. Rose was a distinguished Cambridge man, the only representative of the sister University at the beginning of the Revival. Palmer was a graduate of Dublin University, Perceval a Royal Chaplain and an Oriel man.

Another disciple of early days was Isaac Williams, a noted Latin scholar and winner of

the Latin Prize Poem. He became Fellow and Tutor of Trinity, and was also for a brief time Curate at St. Mary's under Newman. He was much influenced by Keble, and like him was one of the poets of the Movement. Of a shy, retiring nature, moderate in his opinions and by no means inclined to follow the whole way some of the issues roused in those days, he was nevertheless one of the first storm-centres of the Revival. His contribution to the famous Tracts—No. 80, "On Reserve in Communicating Religious Knowledge"—greatly offended the Evangelicals, though all the Tract actually consisted of was a plea for greater reticence in the use of sacred words and in dealing with certain aspects of the doctrine of the Atonement. He also roused another outcry when he took part in the contest for the Professorship of Poetry in succession to Keble in 1841 and 1842. So great already was the opposition to the Movement that though Williams stood high in the poetical estimation of his day, when the conception of inspiration was not an exalted one, he was defeated on the score alone of his being a Tractarian.

Later on he seems to have grown distrustful of the Movement and anxious as to where Newman was leading it. He left Oxford, married, and lived in Gloucestershire until his death, though he always kept in close touch with Keble and

Pusey, and was one of the first of Newman's friends to resume friendship with him after the years of separation which followed his joining the Church of Rome.

§ 3

TRACTS FOR THE TIMES

The conference at Hadleigh led to the publication of the famous "Tracts" which gave the Movement its first name. "We must make a row in the world," said Froude to Isaac Williams, and the Tracts certainly made a row. They were not the original intention of the Conference. The first idea had been to get up a monster petition addressed to the Government, but this never materialized, though a great many signatures were obtained among the clergy and laity.

The Tracts began almost immediately, in September, 1833, with Newman's "Thoughts on the Ministerial Commission Respectfully Addressed to the Clergy." It was a four-page leaflet published at a penny, very like those tracts which had already been made familiar by

the Evangelical party. It was a plea for the restoration of the Catholic conception of the clergy as successors to the Apostles, and was published anonymously: "I am but one of yourselves, a presbyter, and therefore I conceal my name." It deals with the dangers threatening the Church, the peril in which stood the Bishops, the successors of the Apostles, and adds in a manner altogether startling to the times: "We could not wish them a more blessed termination to their course than the spoiling of their goods and martyrdom."

It was the beginning of the new line of Church defence.

Two more Tracts appeared on the same date, and others followed quickly. These were written by Keble and Froude and a layman, John Bowden. They were accompanied by a similar series called "Records of the Church," also published at a penny. Many of these Tracts and Records were distributed personally by Newman, and apart from this they had a wide circulation among the clergy both in high and low places. Considering their nature, it is not difficult to realize how much the Church of those times was startled and excited by them, though they contained little that is not accepted as commonplace to-day. They proclaimed her as an apostolic, historic and yet spiritual body, and

plainly stated her fundamental doctrines as expounded by the Fathers. For the most part they were liked and understood, and brought the reformers many new adherents, chiefly among men of an intellectual type. When in 1834 Dr. Pusey joined the Movement by publishing Tract 18, on Fasting, with his initials attached, its position was assured.

It maintained itself not merely by the Tracts, though they were perhaps its most typical and widely known feature, but also by Newman's sermons in St. Mary's Church. "Without the Sermons," Dean Church writes, "the Movement might never have gone on, certainly would never have been what it was . . . they were the expression of a piercing and large insight into character and conscience and motive, of a sympathy at once most tender and most stern with the tempted and wavering, of an absolute and burning faith in God."¹ While Matthew Arnold, who disliked the Movement and all that it stood for, nevertheless asks "Who could resist the charm of that spiritual apparition, gliding in the dim afternoon light of the aisles of St. Mary's, rising into the pulpit and then in the most entrancing of voices breaking the silence with words and thoughts which were a religious music?" He adds: "Happy the man who in that

¹ Church, "Oxford Movement," pp. 129, 130.

susceptible season of youth hears such voices. They are a possession to him for ever.”¹

At first there was very little opposition; a Bishop was heard to say that he did not know if he believed in Apostolic Succession or not, and many of the clergy were surprised at the use of such an expression as “the Sacrifice of the Holy Eucharist.” But at the beginning the accusation of “Popery” was not brought against the Tractarians. However, this was to come before very long—not from the Evangelicals, but from the Broad Church party. The enemy of Catholicism has never been Evangelicalism, though there may be transient moments of conflict when Evangelicalism has allowed itself to be influenced by State Protestantism, but the enemy from the start down to the present day has been Latitudinarianism or Modernism, under whichever shifting aspect it has shown itself for the moment.

In 1836, the Whig Premier, Lord Melbourne, appointed as Regius Professor of Divinity one Dr. Hampden, Principal of St. Mary’s Hall, who had delivered the Bampton Lectures in 1832, and in the course of them appeared to have thrown doubts on the Creeds and their authority. Evangelicals joined Tractarians in protesting against the appointment, but were unable to do

¹ Matthew Arnold, “Discourses in America,” p. 139.

more than enact at Oxford a statute depriving the new Professor of any power over University preachers. The result was to stir up in the Broad Church ranks a strong opposition to the Tractarians, and it was from this quarter that the first accusations of Romanizing were brought. It must be remembered that in their effort to save the Church of England, the Oxford reformers had adopted tactics directly contrary to those of Dr. Arnold and other Broad Churchmen, who would have preferred to see the Church officially allied with Protestant Nonconformists in one State religion. It was the opposition of the Catholic ideal of the Church to Erastian and Latitudinarian schemes, and at the start, Catholic ideals seemed to have won; anyhow, plans for the federation came to nothing.

The accusation of Romanism was partly due to a return of the whole Roman controversy, owing to an attack by Cardinal Wiseman on the position claimed by the Oxford reformers for the Church of England. The Roman Church at once saw the danger of these new claims, and Wiseman delivered a series of lectures on "The Doctrines and Practices of the Church of Rome" at St. Mary's, Moorfields, in 1836. Newman also delivered a course of lectures on "Romanism and Popular Protestantism," in which can be seen the beginnings of his theory of the Via

Media, a rock on which his Anglicanism was to go to pieces before very long.

Newman's sermons and lectures had now succeeded the Tracts as the most prominent feature of the Movement, and in 1836 another project was mooted in the "Library of the Fathers," consisting of translations from the Fathers of the Catholic Church before the division between East and West. The first editors were Pusey, Keble, and Newman, and it was not completed till nearly the present day. It must be noted that during this early time the Revival was entirely doctrinal, and that little or no attention was paid to ceremonial or liturgical matters. The reformers were busily reviving the lost learning of the Church and showing her foundations to be secure in the apostles and prophets.

But already opposition was growing. In 1836 Dr. Arnold bitterly attacked the Tractarians in the *Edinburgh Review*; while the publication of Froude's *Remains* in 1838 was one of the Movement's greatest errors. Not that there was in them anything whatever of which Froude or his intimate friends had reason to be ashamed, but they were never meant for publication, and in their freakish and perverse spirit, in their light-hearted criticism of established sanctities, their expressions of impatience with Anglicanism

and admiration of Rome—doubtless all much over-stated, as such things would tend to be in the diaries and correspondence of a witty, intellectual young man—produced the very worst impression in the country at large. “Froude talked and wrote in intimate intercourse in the same daring spirit in which he rode across country and sailed his boat, and his friends printed his slashing criticisms of the popular idols of the day as they printed the innermost communings of his spiritual life, and the records of his stern self-discipline, and his deep penitence before God.”¹

It was his attacks on the leaders of the English Reformation which really roused the storm. Those were days in which the Reformers were regarded as infallible saints, a view which the sound learning of the Oxford Movement was bound eventually to shatter. Froude wrote: “I hate the Reformation,” and the country was appalled. The vague charges of Romanism crystallized. An effort was made to compel the Tractarian leaders to declare themselves, by the proposal to build a Memorial to Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, the well-known “Martyrs’ Memorial” of to-day. “Its real object was not so much to honour the

¹ Ollard, “Short History of the Oxford Movement,” pp. 56, 57.

Martyrs as to set up a public protest against the views set forth in Froude's *Remains*." ¹ The Oxford leaders were put in a difficult position when asked for subscriptions. Pusey felt justified in subscribing, Newman did not, thereby confirming the general impression that he and his party repudiated the Reformation.

§ 4

TRACT 90

The crisis came in 1841, with the publication of the famous Tract 90, under the title "Remarks on Certain Passages in the Thirty-Nine Articles." This Tract roused the consternation not only of Protestants and Latitudinarians, but of certain supporters of the Movement itself. Its aim was to show that the Thirty-nine Articles, which had hitherto been looked upon as a bulwark of Protestantism, did not necessarily condemn the teaching of the Church of Rome, and can indeed be interpreted in such a way that even professing Roman Catholics could accept them.

The Tract was the effect of certain causes

¹ Ollard, "Short History of the Oxford Movement," p. 60.

which had for the last few years been at work in the Movement in general and in Newman in particular. The Revival had begun simply with the desire to reinstate the Church of England in her rightful position in the country and to reassert her claim to be a true branch of the Universal Church. The first promoters of the Movement could almost have been described as loyal Protestants, since their object was to vindicate Anglicanism not only against Sectarianism but against Rome. Several of the later converts and adherents of the Tractarians, such as Robert Isaac Wilberforce, Charles Marriott, and Frederic Rogers were of this way of thinking, but, meantime, a new school had arisen within the Movement, much at variance with the aim of its original leaders. This may be described as a definitely Roman school, which "cut into the original Movement at an angle, fell across its line of thought and then set about turning that line in its own direction." ¹

The first leaders had been animated solely by their love for the Church of England, but this new party was inspired chiefly by admiration of the Church of Rome. It included such names as W. G. Ward, F. W. Faber, F. Oakley, and J. B. Dalgairns. These men were devout and brilliant, but they constituted a danger to the

¹ Newman, "Apologia," p. 278.

Movement in providing a real justification for the cries of Romanism which till then had been unreasonably raised against it. Newman was drawn towards them by a certain sympathy of intellectual adventure, though he cannot be said to have been actually of their number, and for some time worked hard to hold them from excess.

His own attitude towards the Church of Rome was peculiar. It had little or no attraction for him, but since 1839 a certain consciousness of it had hung on his horizon as "a cloud no bigger than a man's hand." His studies of the Fathers, and particularly of the Monophysite heresy, had given him his first doubts as to the logic of his own theory of the *Via Media*. Hitherto he had been content to regard the rightfulness of the Anglican position to lie in its middle course between the Church of Rome and the Protestant sects. But his studies of the past brought home to him that there was no middle course in Christendom. There was the one Holy Catholic Church, and there were the heretical sects outside her, but there was no middle way. To add to this came an article by Cardinal Wiseman in the *Dublin Review*. It dealt with the Anglican claims, comparing Anglicans with the Donatist heretics in the fifth century. The article, says Newman, gave him a stomach ache, and at the same time he was suddenly reminded of

St. Augustine's words in vindication of the Universal Church against any local sect: "Securus judicat orbis terrarum." He was still firm in his allegiance to the English Church, but he had seen, he tells us in the *Apologia*, "the shadow of a hand upon the wall."

Tract 90 was no doubt the fruit of the internal difficulties and struggles which had filled the last years. It is not surprising that it roused a storm. Four Tutors of the University made a public protest against it, and a week later the Heads of Houses formally condemned it, the condemnation being posted up in all colleges and halls and at the gates of the Schools. It was ruthless dealing, and made rally to Newman's side men who otherwise might have felt inclined to criticize him. Palmer, Perceval, Hook of Leeds, and Keble himself came forward in his defence. But Newman tells us that he saw his place in the Movement was lost.¹ At the request of the Bishop of Oxford he brought the series of Tracts to an end; but this did not save him from having episcopal charges directed at him from all quarters for three years.

¹ "In newspapers, in pulpits, at dinner tables, in coffee-rooms, in railway carriages, I was denounced as a traitor who had laid his train and was detected in the very act of firing it."—Newman, "*Apologia*," p. 175.

§ 5

NEWMAN'S SECESSION AND THE END OF THE
MOVEMENT IN OXFORD

In February, 1842, he retired to the village of Littlemore, near Oxford, where some time before he had bought a piece of land with the intention of founding a religious order. He was now, as he describes it, "on his deathbed" as regards the Anglican Church, but he was an unconscionable time in dying. Not for Newman the hasty conversion, the quick escape even from a state of affairs which must have become intolerable.

For four years he and a little company of friends lived on at Littlemore. It was not till September, 1843, that he resigned his living of St. Mary's, having preached there for the last time in February. A week later he preached his last Anglican sermon in Littlemore Church—"On the Parting of Friends."

Even then his secession did not immediately follow. But meanwhile the turning tide against the Tractarians was gathering force. The "No preferment" campaign, which has gone on till the present day, was started by Sir Robert Peel,

who announced that no Tractarian should have preferment while he was in office. Moreover, in 1843 Dr. Pusey was, without the formality of a trial, suspended for two years from preaching in the University on account of his sermon "The Holy Eucharist as a Comfort to the Penitent." Two of the leaders were thus silenced. Newman was living in retirement, and Pusey had been suspended by the authorities; moreover, Keble had now left Oxford for Hursley. James B. Mozley, Fellow of Magdalen, wrote to R. W. Clark, Fellow of Oriel: "Things are looking melancholy now . . . I feel as if a new stage in the drama were beginning, in which we shall have to do the uncomfortable thing and take rather higher parts than we have done hitherto."

In 1844 W. G. Ward, leader of the Roman party in the Movement, published "The Ideal of a Christian Church," in which he claimed that it was possible for a man to remain a member of the Church of England while holding all Roman doctrine. As a result of this the Heads of Houses asked the University to censure Mr. Ward's book, to deprive him of his degrees, and to condemn Tract 90, though this had now been published four years ago. The first of these motions was carried by Convocation, also the proposal to deprive him of his degrees, but the Proctors vetoed the proposal to condemn Tract

90. But though Newman's position in the Movement was thus vindicated as distinct from Ward's, he had now long passed beyond it. On 3rd October, 1845, he resigned his Fellowship of Oriel and less than a week later was received into the Church of Rome by one of the Passionist fathers.

He had received, he tells us, three blows that had broken him. One was his conviction, based on his studies of Church history, that Rome was in the position of the early Catholic Church and Canterbury in the position of the early heretics and schismatics. The second was his treatment by the Episcopate, its misunderstanding and misrepresentation of his aims, the third was a recent decision in the matter of the Jerusalem Bishopric.

In 1841 a plan was formed for establishing an Anglican Bishopric in Jerusalem. For diplomatic reasons it was decided to take this step in conjunction with the Protestant State Church of Prussia, which was to have the right of making alternative appointments to the see. Newman had been struggling to convince himself that, in spite of all, the Church of England was Catholic, and now he found her allying herself openly in the face of the world with continental Protestantism, on such terms that it seemed at least possible that the Apostolic Succession

of her Bishops might be compromised in the future.

His faith in her could not stand these repeated trials, and his secession did not come as a surprise to either his friends or his foes. Keble and Pusey both did their best to convince him that his place was still with Anglicanism, that the period of sickness and disillusion would pass, that his fears would prove unjustified. But the time came when Newman could endure and wait no more. His farewell to the Church of England is a most tragic cry of reproach—a reproach which she had still to prove undeserved.

“ O mother of saints! O school of the wise! O nurse of the heroic! Of whom went forth, in whom have dwelt, memorable names of old . . . O my mother, whence is this unto thee that thou hast good things poured upon thee and canst not keep them, and bearest children yet darest not own them? . . . How is it that whatever is generous in purpose and tender or deep in devotion, thy flower and thy promise, falls from thy bosom and finds no hold within thine arms. Who hath put this note upon thee, to have a ‘miscarrying womb and dry breasts,’ to be strange to thine own flesh and thine eye cruel towards thy little ones? Thine own offspring, the fruit of thy womb who love thee and would toil for thee, thou dost gaze on with fear as though a

portent, or thou dost loathe as an offence; at best thou dost but endure, as if they had no claim but on thy patience, self-possession and vigilance, to be rid of them as easily as thou mayest. Thou makest them 'stand all the day idle,' as the very condition of thy bearing with them; or thou biddest them be gone where they will be more welcome; or thou sellest them for nought to the stranger that passes by. And what will ye do in the end thereof?"¹

Newman's secession meant the end of the Movement in Oxford. Many followed in his steps to Rome, and a large number of secessions took place, not only from the Roman party. Charles Marriott described Tractarians as being "worried out of the Church." But the two great surviving leaders, Keble and Pusey, stood firm. Intellectual brilliance was gone, but pastoral piety and sound learning remained. In time a rally was made under Mozley and Marriott, the latter becoming Vicar of St. Mary's in 1850, while the secession of the majority of the Roman party, headed by Ward, restored to the Movement the balance it was beginning to lose.

Secessions to Rome have continued ever since. They have come singly, as the result of individual trials and disillusiones; they have also

¹ "On the Parting of Friends," in "Sermons Bearing on Subjects of the Day," pp. 406-8.

come in numbers, as the result of those crises in which the Church of England periodically involves herself, to the trial of her faithful—the trouble of the Jerusalem Bishopric, for instance, that preceded Newman's going over, the Gorham judgment in 1851, and the Kikuyu controversy at a quite recent date.

But two points must be noticed about these secessions: first of all, though at certain times they may have come in large numbers they have never come as a concerted or official action, and secondly the special difficulty or danger which has given rise to the situation has invariably righted itself in the course of a few years. Many a time the Church of England has hung on the brink of a corporate apostacy but she has never quite gone over. Newman's secession was partly brought about by her official blundering in the matter of the Jerusalem Bishopric, but his fears were proved unjustified—no Lutheran appointment was ever made, and the Bishopric has been entirely in Anglican hands ever since its institution. The Gorham Judgment, which seemed to allow the Church to teach a heretical doctrine of baptism, has on subsequent examination been found ambiguous and harmless and has certainly never been put into action. The Kikuyu threat of schismatic worship with its possibility of invalid communion has never

materialized. Some special Providence seems always to have saved the Church of England from the worst. It is this thought, together with their experience of her great power of revival, which encourages her children to take heart, to have faith where Newman doubted, to hope where he feared, and to love what he forsook.

CHAPTER III

THREE MEN IN GREEN

DR. TAIT, Bishop of London : Where have you been, Mr. Dean?

DEAN STANLEY : To St. Alban's Church, in Holborn.

DR. TAIT : And what did you see there?

DEAN STANLEY : I saw three men in green. *And you will find it very hard to put them down."*

§ 1

FROM THE COLLEGES TO THE PARISHES

AT first it was thought that Newman's secession would mean the collapse of the Oxford Movement. His path to Rome was certainly followed by many of his disciples, and W. G. Ward and F. W. Faber, prominent in the "Roman party," both finished their career in the Roman Church. The number, however, did not increase, and gradually the tide abated, until another crisis in Anglican affairs once more swelled its fullness.

It was, however, true that the Movement was discredited in Oxford. Keble was Vicar of Hursley, where he spent the rest of his life as a hard-working parish priest. Only Pusey remained, with Charles Marriott as Vicar of St. Mary's. The Movement itself passed into a wider field, and here Newman's secession had a significance altogether beyond its immediate results. No doubt even if the catastrophe had not fallen, the Revival would eventually have

spread into the parochial life of England. Already beginnings were being made at the Margaret Street Chapel, on the site where All Saints, Margaret Street, now stands, and other parishes would doubtless have followed its example even if Tractarianism had still remained chiefly the concern of Oxford Colleges.

But its discredit at the University forced it into a new experience and a new development. At Oxford it had been almost entirely an affair of scholarship, of the disputations of the learned, of the revival of forgotten or submerged doctrine. In the parishes of England it was to become something very different, a matter of practical experience to ordinary Englishmen. From being mainly scholastic, it became pastoral. A new set of names arose. The Oxford names had been the names of scholars and divines; the parish names were the names of humble priests, carrying the light of the Movement as fire into cold, dark places. Though the great Pusey remains the leader of the Revival until his death, the best known men of this period are shepherds of souls, such men as Lowder, Mackonochie, Stanton, and Dolling. The spirit has changed, and in its dispersal the Movement turns for strength to the stock from which it first sprang—it becomes in the best sense “evangelical,” the gospel of the poor.

This new phase brought the Movement into altogether greater prominence throughout the country, chiefly because of the ceremonial revival which accompanied it, and was for two score years its most remarkable aspect in the eyes of the nation. Ceremonial followed doctrine partly as a natural development and expression of it, partly in consequence of the Movement's contact with the grinding and joyless lives of the poor during one of the worst periods of English social history. Those were the days when beside the plush-upholstered drawing-rooms of Thackeray's novels, with their powdered footmen and blazing gas-jets, and Victorian fashion over-eating itself on roast mutton, lurked the squalor of Dickens' London, the London of Sairey Gamp and Poor Joe, and—outside fiction—the London of Chartist rioting and Asiatic cholera.

Circumstances placed the Tractarians in the darkest places—Pimlico, Shoreditch, Holborn, Kennington, Paddington—though they were also exceptionally in more fashionable districts, such as Knightsbridge. It was natural that those early parish priests of the Movement should turn their hearts to worship the Lord in the beauty of holiness. The foundations of the Revival had been laid at Oxford in sound learning, but now the time and the opportunity had come to build

the superstructure of rite and practice. "A force de prendre l'eau bénite on devient croyant" wrote Pascal, but things go better when the procedure is reversed. The fact that its doctrinal foundations had been squarely laid some years before ceremonial was introduced, may account in part for the solidity with which the Movement has withstood attack. It could scarcely have survived so well if it had been, as it were, built on piles above a lake of holy water.

The Movement spread rapidly during those mid-Victorian years, partly for the reason that the revival of the Church life had meant the revival of Church building—the art which throughout the Middle Ages had been associated with the beauty of doctrine and worship, but since the beginning of the eighteenth century had declined with them. The Oxford Movement meant the revival of church building, and as the majority of these new churches were built by men and women in sympathy with the Tractarian ideals, they naturally became the centres of parochial life and worship in which those ideals were reflected. All Saints, Margaret Street, St. Paul's, Knightsbridge, St. Barnabas, Pimlico, St. Peter's, London Docks, St. Albans, Holborn, were among the many churches built at this time. Later on came St. Augustine's, Kilburn, St. Mary Magdalen, Paddington, St. John the Divine,

Kennington, and others too numerous to mention.

The first applications of doctrine to worship were necessarily very mild. The Oxford leaders themselves had done little or nothing in this way. Beyond restoring such elementary requirements as cleanliness and order they seem to have been content to let their worship remain much as the rest of the Church of England. Their business was to lay foundations before giving their attention to the superstructure. Those remnants and echoes of lost ceremonial which had lingered on through the eighteenth century had been finally stifled in the gloom of the Early Victorian Church—such commonplaces as the singing of the Responses, the taking of the eastward position, the placing of candles or flowers upon the altar—were practically unknown. Their revival stirred up an opposition which seems almost ludicrous to church-goers to-day, especially when it is remembered that an almost equally violent revolt greeted the appearance of alms-bags in the place of alms-dishes, the eagle lectern, and above all the surplice in the pulpit.

While the Movement remained at Oxford opposition had come chiefly from the high places of the Church, from the Bishops, the Heads of Houses, and other learned men. Its battles had been fought in Common Rooms and studies, but

the nation at large had remained untouched and uninterested. Even the famous Tracts seldom went farther than the Parsonage. But now, not only had the Movement entered into the country's parochial life, but it had entered in such a manner as to call the quickest and greatest attention to itself. The first step for the parish priest to take was to rescue the services of the Church from the dreariness, sluttishness and irreverence into which they had fallen; and the simple means by which he achieved this end constituted an insult to one of the most venerated gods of the English people—the god of custom. Moreover it was a time when there existed a fear and hatred of “Popery” which can scarcely be imagined now, though it still survives in certain out of the way districts. It was then the normal attitude of Englishmen, and by a long sequence of false tradition and miseducation the country had come to associate inevitably what was Catholic with what was Roman.

In 1837 Dr. Maurice, Chaplain of New College, visited Newman's church at Littlemore: “I felt an indescribable horror steal over me as I carried my eye to the eastern wall of the building and beheld a plain naked cross rising up and projecting out of the centre of the table of communion. . . . I could not divest my mind of that fond delusion of the man of sin, who openly

bows down before the image of the cross and worships the painted wood or the cold stone. May my natural eye never fall upon such a degrading spectacle."

It was into this atmosphere that the Oxford Movement was now to introduce a ceremonial grading from the use of the surplice to the celebration of High Mass according to the Roman Congregation of Rites.

§ 2

THE TRIALS OF THE EARLY RITUALISTS

The following fifty years seem to be chiefly occupied with this battle. I use the word "seem" advisedly, because the ceremonial revival was of course merely the surface working of the Movement, which meantime continued its way in the winning of the Church of England back to a realization of her Catholic position. It stands as a bridge between the revival of doctrine of the first years of the Movement and the recent revival of Catholic devotion. It has provided the most spectacular and most disputed aspect of the Oxford Movement, though in many ways it is the least important. Even its mild beginnings stirred up an opposition far more

violent than any which had met the more fundamental doctrinal revival. It is a characteristic of the English mind that you may say what you like as long as you do not use names. Just as M. Jourdain had spoken prose for years without knowing it, so John Bull had heard Mass for years without knowing it and all was well; the trouble began when he was told that he was hearing Mass, and the information supported by stresses and resemblances to what he had hitherto regarded as an exclusively Latin monopoly in superstition.

At the consecration of All Saints', Margaret Street, on the site of the old Margaret Street chapel, the Bishop refused to proceed until the altar had been made to resemble as closely as possible the dining-room table of the period by covering it with a huge table-cloth that touched the Sanctuary floor. At the consecration of St. Paul's, Knightsbridge, proceedings were also held up, this time by the Bishop's order to remove the eagle lectern, not for æsthetic reasons, but because the dismal object suggested Popery to his mind.

The ceremonial attitude of the Bishops seems to have been in many points obscure. Five years later two candlesticks were placed on the altar of St. Paul's, Knightsbridge, also on the altar of St. Barnabas, Pimlico. Bishop Blomfield made no objections to these, but

formally refused to allow flowers to be placed there. Indeed flowers on the altar seem to have been looked upon as the extremity of Ritualism and ecclesiastical foppery, compared to which candles were a comparatively unimportant innovation. Bishop Blomfield in his Charge of 1842 condemned the practice, saying: "This appears to me to be something worse than frivolous and to approach very nearly to the honours paid by the Church of Rome to deified sinners."

The greatest storms, however, were roused by the substitution of the surplice for the black gown in the pulpit. In Exeter took place in 1848 what are known as the "surplice riots," owing to a sermon having been preached by a clergyman wearing a surplice instead of a black gown, and the image of the offender, dressed in cassock, surplice, and stole, was burnt instead of Guy Fawkes on November 5th. Indeed this period saw a general development in the activities of the bonfire societies, for about the same time the effigy of John Mason Neale was solemnly burnt at East Grinstead, the bonfire society appealing to Dr. Neale himself for funds and receiving from him the contribution of a sovereign.

But the chief battleground was in London. In 1850 the Roman Catholic hierarchy had been set up in England and this caused profound

disquiet throughout the country, and gave new encouragement to anti-papal feeling. Lord John Russell, who was then Prime Minister, also the Lord Chancellor of the day, used the matter for political ends, and in order to achieve popularity attacked the Oxford Revival as well as the Papal restoration.

The Movement was now unpopular with the masses, which only required this sort of encouragement to resort to mob law. Riots took place at St. Barnabas, Pimlico, and the church was saved from wreck only by a remarkable sermon of the Vicar, the Reverend W. J. E. Bennett. The mob received all possible support from the forces of law and order, and the Bishop of London declared that he would remove the cross from the altar of St. Barnabas if it cost him his see. However, both the Bishop and the cross remained where they were.

In 1854 the struggle passed to St. Paul's, Knightsbridge, where an effort was made to prosecute the Vicar, the Reverend and Honourable Robert Liddell for the use of cross and candlesticks upon the altar, also of coloured altar frontals and a credence table. The case, however, collapsed, as the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council ruled that all these were covered by the Ornaments Rubric in the Book of Common Prayer. This brought the Bishops and the

Protestant objectors into a very difficult position, as not only were the ornaments they objected to now proved to be legal, but the finding also obviously covered the use of Eucharistic vestments, which were not actually in question in the present suit. The Bishops, we are told, felt the awkwardness of the situation; and indeed it was extremely awkward, as they were now bent on suppressing practices which had been proved in a Court of Law to be not only the permissible but the lawful usage of the Church of England.

The mob, however, were not swayed by legal consideration. Ornaments Rubric or no, such things stank of Popery and they continued to show their displeasure in no uncertain manner. In 1859 began the notorious riots in St. George's-in-the-East, when for months a Christian church was given over without interference or protest from the authorities to violence and fury. The police refused to intervene and the Bishop of London, Dr. Tait, took the part of the rioters, announcing his intention to stop "this childish mimicry of antiquated garments." In the end it is not surprising that the mob were victorious. The Rector, Bryan King, finally broke down in health and was obliged to resign the living whereupon the Bishop straightway abolished the very mild ceremonial which had caused the disturbance and the matter was at an end.

The defeat was only local, however, for the ceremonial revival went on. The matter had become one of principle, since it was now plain that the position of the Ritualists, as they were then beginning to be called, was supported by the Prayer Book. It was no longer a question of intoning or alms-bags or even surplices in the pulpit, but an effort to obey the injunction—"That such Ornaments of the Church and of the Ministers thereof, at all times of their ministration, shall be retained, and be in use, as were in this Church of England, by the authority of Parliament, in the second year of the reign of King Edward the Sixth." This injunction covered not only the cross and candlesticks of earlier dispute, but the Eucharistic vestments, and probably also the use of incense.

§ 3

ST. ALBAN'S, HOLBORN, AND THE PUBLIC WORSHIP REGULATION ACT

The centre of this new stage of the ceremonial revival was the famous church of St. Alban's, Holborn, of which the Reverend Alexander Heriot Mackonochie became Vicar in 1863. He

had formerly been curate at Wantage, a parish in which Tractarianism had long flourished without any definite ceremonial expression, but with great decency and order. Mackonochie was regarded as rather an extremist by his colleagues, and a certain amount of anxiety was felt as to his probable conduct when in charge of his own parish. Certainly from the day of its consecration St. Alban's had a ceremonial considered daring even by many of the Ritualists themselves. The eastward position, the mixed chalice, unleavened bread, altar lights and linen vestments were all in use; coloured silk vestments appeared two years later, and in another year the use of incense began. Thus in the year 1866 what are known as the Six Points were already revived in the Church of England.

Naturally the usages of St. Alban's stirred up the old Protestant feeling, but as in the case of St. Paul's, Knightsbridge, it was the law rather than the mob which was invoked to suppress the evil. Indeed an epidemic of ritual law cases now set in. In 1867 Mackonochie was arraigned for using the mixed chalice, altar lights, kneeling at the prayer of consecration, elevating the Host, and using incense. A similar case was brought against the Vicar of East Teignmouth, in Devon. A couple of years later the Reverend John Purchas of St. James's, Brighton, was charged

with thirty-five illegal practices. The decision in this famous case, however, complicated matters, as the practices which in earlier cases had been found legal were now declared not to be so, and the law of the land and the law of the Church stood at odds with each other. Indeed all the judgments of the Courts were conflicting, as it was possible to have a judgment reversed on appeal, while the judgment in another case would reverse the decision in a case before.

The Purchas judgment made it a matter of conscience for the Ritualists to refuse to obey the findings of the Privy Council, which they held to be discredited as a final court of appeal in ecclesiastical cases. Their enemies, meanwhile, were much encouraged. Dr. Tait, the persecuting Bishop of London, had now become Archbishop of Canterbury, while Disraeli was Prime Minister. Disraeli, though perhaps not at first opposed to the Tractarians, now regarded them as foes to the forces of law and order, and in conjunction with Dr. Tait attempted to put down Ritualism by the passing of the Public Worship Regulation Act in 1874. This Act created a new Court whose authority no Catholic-minded clergyman could acknowledge. The result was that priests went to prison rather than obey its findings. Arthur Tooth, Vicar of St. James's, Hatcham, Thomas Pelham Dale,

Rector of St. Vedast, Foster Lane, Richard Enraght, Vicar of Holy Trinity, Bordesley, Sydney Faithorn Green, Vicar of Miles Platting, and James Bell-Cox, Vicar of St. Margaret's Liverpool, were all imprisoned for terms varying from fourteen days to eighteen months. The instrument of prosecution was chiefly the Church Association, formed for the attack and suppression of Ritualism, as the English Church Union had at about the same time been formed for the protection of Ritualists.

The chief centre of the Church Association's activities was St. Alban's, Holborn, where Mackonochie seems to have incurred the personal hatred of the Society. The personality of Mackonochie has in later years been obscured in a measure by that of his famous Curate, Arthur Henry Stanton, but the story of his labours at St. Alban's, Holborn, is one deserving honour and pious remembrance for its example of patience, loyalty and courage under long-continued adversity. It is obvious that Mackonochie did his best to obey the rulings of his Bishop when it was possible to disentangle these from the uncanonical interference of private dogmatists, indeed in some quarters he was blamed for his mildness, as he abandoned one practice after another, all to no purpose. In 1870 he was suspended for three months, his

congregation marching in a body from St. Alban's, Holborn, to St. Botolph's, Bishopsgate, for their Sunday Mass. It is an argument for the personal nature of the Church Association's attack, that the practices which had been suppressed at St. Alban's, Holborn, existed unattacked at other London churches. Still further proof was given when on Mackonochie's resigning the living in 1882 and being appointed to St. Peter's, London Docks, the persecution moved from St. Alban's to the latter church, till Mackonochie was finally deprived of his benefice in 1883.

By this time he was worn out by the struggle. Though not an old man he was showing signs of mental collapse; his memory had begun to fail him tragically, and it was impossible for him to continue his duties as a parish priest even if he had been allowed to do so. He went to stay with friends in Scotland, and wandering out in the forest of Mamore, was lost in a snowstorm, owing to some sudden failure of his impaired memory. Two days later he was found dead upon the hill-side, having apparently knelt down to pray, and, so praying, met his end.

By this time popular opinion was changing. Side by side with the ceremonial revival had gone a revival of a very different kind, though the two seem to have grown up together—the revival of

personal religion in the laity and of pastoral zeal in the clergy, who were once more becoming shepherds of souls to their people. Such men as Lowder of St. Peter's, London Docks, Mackonochie and Stanton of St. Alban's, Holborn, had shown the mob that the Ritualistic clergy did not stand only for candles and vestments and incense, but for service of the poor and care for sinners. The imprisonment of clergy under the Public Worship Regulation Act was a shock to the national conscience, and by the death of Mackonochie the tide was already beginning to turn.

The Church Association made one last rally when in 1888 it brought an action against Dr. King, Bishop of Lincoln, for irregular practices in his Cathedral. The decision, however, though given in certain minor points in their favour, mostly justified the ceremonial complained of. At about the same time Dr. Edward White Benson, Bishop of Truro, was promoted to the see of Canterbury. He was a man learned in church history, liturgiology and ceremonial, and with his appointment the Revival lost one of its worst enemies—ignorance in high places. With an expert ecclesiologist in the Metropolitan see it is not surprising that legal persecution of the Ritualists came to an end.

§ 4

THE REVIVAL OF PENANCE

But the history of those days was not one of ceremonial only. All the time the storm was raging round such externals as lights, vestments, incense and the like—which the Ritualists fought for not so much for their own sake as for the principles involved in their restoration—the revival of church life was going forward on other lines, lines of private devotion and discipline, as lost treasures were brought to light from devotional as well as from ceremonial and doctrinal store-houses. Many of these excited no controversy. The revival of fasting—of the days appointed by the Prayer Book for fasting and abstinence—could at the worst stir up little more than personal ridicule; the same applied to the revival of fasting communion. The revival of frequent church-going and frequent communion was a natural accompaniment to the revival of public worship, and the large and devout congregations of the persecuted churches did much to win them their final place in public toleration.

But there was one practice of personal religion

and ecclesiastical discipline, the revival of which caused a storm almost equal to that which had greeted the putting into force of the Ornaments Rubric. Popular prejudice was roused to its fiercest by the restoration of the Sacrament of Penance. The use of this Sacrament had never quite died out in the Church of England and is indeed most definitely provided for in the Book of Common Prayer, but it had become very rare, and at the beginning of the Revival was almost extinct. It was, moreover, associated in the popular mind with the worst of Romanism and Jesuitry. The thought that it was being resorted to regularly in many of England's parish churches outraged the heart of John Bull, not merely as represented by the man in the street but by the man on the episcopal bench.

The practice of Sacramental Confession started almost with the Movement—Newman, Keble, and Pusey all heard Confessions. It was also obvious from the first that in this respect the Prayer Book was plainly and openly on the side of the Tractarians, while the writings of Anglican divines of the two centuries immediately following the Reformation, as well as the practice of the laity during that period, made it impossible to plead "disuetude" or "obsolescence" as in the case of the Ornaments Rubric.

But this did not quiet the storm. If in

theory the use of Confession by Anglicans could not be attacked it must be made vulnerable in practice. Priests were accused of using the Confessional for their private ends and for improper purposes. In 1858 the Reverend Richard Temple-West, curate of All Saints', Boyne Hill, and afterwards first Vicar of St. Mary Magdalene's, Paddington, was accused of putting improper questions to a woman, of compelling her to make her confession and ordering her not to tell her husband. So great was the outcry that a Commission was appointed to look into the charges, with the result that the Commissioners unanimously agreed that there was no case against Mr. West.

Nevertheless the idea on which the attack was based continued to flourish. A greater outcry was roused in 1873 by a petition signed by nearly five hundred clergy asking the Convocation of Canterbury to "consider the advisability of providing for the education, selection and licensing of duly qualified confessors, in accordance with the provisions of Canon Law," while in 1877 was privately printed a manual entitled "The Priest in Absolution," the second part of which was intended for the use of clergy only. This book roused a hurricane of scandalized protest; extracts from it were read aloud in the House of Lords, Archbishop Tait

described it as "a work which no modest person could read without regret" and declared that "it was a disgrace to the community that such a book could be circulated under the authority of clergymen of the Established Church." A still more remarkable protest was made by Dr. Hugh McNeile, who wrote: "I would make it a capital offence to administer Confession in this country. Transportation would not satisfy me, for that would merely transfer the evil from one part of the world to another. Capital punishment alone would satisfy me, death alone would prevent the evil."¹

However, no action was taken and gradually the excitement died away. Indeed there have been few more remarkable changes in ecclesiastical opinion during the last fifty years than on the subject of Confession. To-day many Bishops of English dioceses definitely require it of their ordination candidates, and there must be few who do not make use of it themselves. The opposition was killed by patient teaching and devout practice—moreover, the bitterness of the outcry and the unscrupulousness of the methods used against the Movement by Protestant critics had the not unusual effect of rallying in its favour many who had hitherto held aloof. Among these were Archdeacon Denison,

¹ See Baring-Gould, "The Church Revival," p. 302.

and the Reverend George Howard Wilkinson, Vicar of St. Peter's, Eaton Square, and afterwards Bishop of St. Andrews. To them must be added the names of Canon Body of Durham, Canon Carter of Clewer, Canon Rhodes Bristow, and Canon Knox-Little, men already high in Anglican estimation.

§ 5

THE CEREMONIAL REVIVAL IN THE PROVINCES

Though London was the centre of the Catholic Movement after its leaving Oxford, history was meanwhile being made in the Provinces. The battle for the re-establishment of Catholic doctrine and the re-embodiment of that doctrine in a worthy ceremonial was being fought not only in such churches as St. Paul's, Knightsbridge, and St. Alban's, Holborn, but in St. Peter's, Plymouth, St. John the Baptist's, Frome, St. Saviour's, Leeds, St. Matthew's, Sheffield, as well as in countless villages and hamlets, where many a fire was kindled in the musty remains of Hanoverian worship.

The revival of church building was as active in the country as in town. Churches sprang up

which were to become famous as provincial centres of the Revival. In the South, the Reverend B. H. Wagner built the great Brighton churches of St. Bartholomew's, St. Paul's and the Annunciation. Christ Church, St. Leonard's-on-Sea, was built by the Reverend Charles Lyndhurst Vaughan, while the Reverend Charles Prynne built St. Peter's and St. James's, Plymouth. The Pollock brothers were active in Birmingham, and in the North Pusey himself built St. Saviour's, Leeds.

Besides the large numbers of churches which were newly built, others came into the hands of incumbents sympathetic to the Movement, which has continued to spread in the highways and byways of England down to the present day, so that there is now scarcely a town or district which does not contain at least one centre of its teaching.

Hand in hand with church building went, as actively though less discreetly, church restoration. The great cathedrals of England, which had fallen into the general neglect of the Georgian period, were now restored at least to order and dignity. Dean Church's work at St. Paul's is the most famous instance of this, but the business of restoration and reorganization went on throughout England. No doubt the cathedrals have always lagged behind the parish churches as followers of the Catholic Revival; nevertheless its mark

is upon them, as each has in time progressed from ruin to museum, and from museum to place of worship.

In the North matters moved more slowly than in the South, partly owing to the greater slowness and caution of north countrymen, partly to the influence of Irish Protestantism in the great northern cities such as Liverpool, and partly to the fact that the last strongholds of episcopal obstruction remained standing in the North after they had fallen in the South. This last difficulty had at least one good effect, for it made the clergy and teachers lay a firm foundation of doctrine before they were able to make any ceremonial building upon it, whereas in the South, in some rash instances, ceremonial was introduced without sufficient preparation, thus altering the balance of the Movement, besides alienating from it many souls who by slow and careful teaching might have been prepared to receive it.

In this respect the North was more fortunate than the South. The drawback to the situation lay in the side-tracking of worship into eccentric bypaths left unblocked by discipline. For instance, in certain northern dioceses Reservation of the Blessed Sacrament was forbidden under pain of deprivation of all ecclesiastical grants, nor would the Bishops license assistant priests

to parishes where it existed. As a result, incumbents of struggling slum parishes of many thousand souls did not feel justified in introducing it, but on the other hand they had no scruple in introducing exotic forms of ceremonial and devotion which the Bishop had not forbidden because he was ignorant of them; thus last things were put before first. In later years the rulers of the Church have deplored the fruits of this work, but they are largely due to the policy of their forerunners.

§ 6

VARIETIES OF CEREMONIAL AND THE QUESTION OF USE

Even when episcopal obstruction was removed, the absence of episcopal guidance brought about fresh difficulties in the matter of ceremonial. It became a question as to what was to be the Use of the revived Church of England. Was it to be the ceremonial that she had abandoned at the Reformation, revived without thought of the gap of three hundred years that lay between its past and present use, or was it to be the ceremonial of modern Rome as it had developed during those

three hundred years from pre-Reformation Uses? The question of the English and the Latin Use¹ is still unanswered by the Church of England, and will remain so while those who have authority to decide such matters refuse to speak. It is as if a party of islanders, rescued at last after their race had been marooned three hundred years on a desert island, should be called upon to decide when returning to the garments of civilization whether they should wear the clothes that their fathers had worn at the time of the wreck or the modern fashions of the world around them. The former were no doubt more interesting, dignified and picturesque, but the latter would be better adapted to modern life, and would not have the disadvantage of making the islanders

¹ The chief differences between the English and the Latin Uses lie in the size and shape of the vestments, which in the former are much larger and more ornate, and in the amount of ceremonial, the English Use being again the more elaborate of the two. On the other hand, the English altar has fewer ornaments upon it than the Latin altar, and the Blessed Sacrament is reserved in an aumbry or safe in the Sanctuary wall, or in a hanging pyx above the altar. According to Roman regulations it is reserved upon the altar itself. The differences between the two Uses are purely ceremonial, and consist mostly in simplifications of the older rite as time went on, and considerations of convenience and practical necessity obtained over those of beauty and dignity. The huge vestments were found to hamper the movements of the ministers, and it was found more convenient to have the various objects used standing upon the altar itself rather than in other parts of the Sanctuary.

look peculiar and different from their fellow people.

At the time of the Reformation the English Use was, with certain local variations, the same as that of the rest of the Western Church on the Continent; but during the last three hundred years many changes have been made in that part of the Western Church which did not give up nearly all ceremonial in the sixteenth century. The developments have chiefly been on the side of greater quickness, economy and efficiency; the vestments have become smaller and lighter, the services have grown shorter and less complicated. The decorations of the churches have on the other hand become more elaborate. For members of the Roman Communion the slightest particular in these matters is decided by the Congregation of Rites, but the findings of this Congregation and the practices based upon them have no more authority for Anglicans than that of a good working model—to be followed in the absence of any pronouncement from their own guides. The English rite is the only Use to which the Ornaments Rubric applies, but it is impossible to think that if that rubric had been obeyed from the first, and our “chancels remained as they were in the second year of King Edward the Sixth,” the ceremonial would not have been modified in the same way as on the Continent.

The English rite is dignified, stately, and eminently suited to large buildings such as cathedrals and collegiate churches. In the ordinary parish church it involves too much ceremony, too great a length in the services, and, in days of reduced man power, too many ministers in the Sanctuary.

One feels that the authorities of the Church of England incline vaguely to the English rite, but no attempt has been made to perform it consistently in our cathedrals or to encourage it by any authoritative pronouncements in synod or in Convocation. It is not surprising that the average Anglo-Catholic parish has adopted the brief, efficient, matter-of-fact Latin rite. That some consistent use in ceremonial must be employed seems inevitable, otherwise the Church is in confusion. Moreover, the early days of the Revival showed that when left without guidance clergymen were inclined to invent a weird ceremonial for themselves, based on imperfect knowledge. In one Folkestone church the incumbent used to hang a stuffed dove above the altar for Whitsuntide, and throughout the length and breadth of England strange things were done with pink cassocks and lace cottas and innumerable candles; so that the churches of the Revival became about twice as ritualistic as the Church of Rome itself.

From the beginning of the present century the Latin rite has steadily gained in popularity as these evils have been realized. Scholars and students who wish to revive the English rite should urge authority to move, for it seems likely to disappear even in the churches which had adopted it, owing to the increasing difficulties of its presentation. The question is one which requires all the resources of scholarship to settle it, combined with a sense of modernity and some understanding of the psychology of present-day English people. It is one of the points on which Anglo-Catholics have been failed by their leaders and are being blamed for the failure.

CHAPTER IV
CAUSES AND CURES

§ I

CIRCUMSTANCES LEADING TO THE ENABLING ACT OF 1919

THOUGH the ceremonial battle was won, at least in principle, during the last years of the nineteenth century, the victory was in some respects neither complete nor secure. As has been seen before, the authority for the use of ceremonial in English churches is not a particularly satisfactory one, since it has been dumb for over three centuries, leaving the modern voice to speak in a foreign language. Moreover, the voice of the past did not speak entirely without confusion. The Ornaments Rubric is plain enough, but as against that there is the very different custom of the Church since the days of the Reformation. There are also the Prayer Book rubrics, ambiguous and hazy. The Prayer Book standard of worship, so urgently sought by the first Tractarians, had been entirely recovered by the end of the nineteenth century; indeed it had been passed, and even the Orna-

ments Rubric was no longer considered enough to express the mind of the Church in worship regained.

It was still open to disaffected persons to accuse the High Church party—as they were generally called in those days in succession to the “Ritualists” of the seventies and eighties—of disobedience to the letter as well as the spirit of the Book of Common Prayer. In the earlier days of the Movement its opponents had seen the hopelessness of opposing it from the Prayer Book itself, and had sought rather to obtain the revision of the Prayer Book services in a Protestant direction, and thus deprive the Ritualists of the letter on which they relied. But now these tactics were no longer necessary, and the printed word of the Book of Common Prayer, once so distrusted by Protestants and Low Churchmen, became an idol of the Low Church party, and efforts were made to compel High Churchmen to conform to it rigorously in detail.

The retort of the High Churchmen was that in no respect and by no party was the Prayer Book taken wholly and literally. If High Churchmen introduced certain enrichments, variations and omissions were made by both the Low and the Broad Church parties. The compromises and adjustments of 1558 were of little use

at the present day, and the Prayer Book as it stood was found impracticable by all parties alike.

These were the causes which led to the appointment of the Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline in 1908. The Commission sat with a view to inquiring into alleged cases of disloyalty to the Book of Common Prayer. Rather unfortunately it encouraged a system of spying, and the reports sent up to it were mostly garbled accounts of High Church services witnessed by Protestants quite ignorant of the elementary principles of worship and ceremonial. However, its constitution of tolerant, wise and learned men prevented it attaching undue importance to these reports, and its findings showed that the High Churchmen were not the only offenders in disregarding the rubrics and regulations of the Book of Common Prayer.

It seemed fairly obvious that arrangements made under special circumstances three centuries ago, had outlived their usefulness, and that revision of some kind was necessary. The Parliamentary difficulty then arose, and the strained relations between Church and State became apparent. The alliance between Church and State, now often regarded as a Protestant innovation, is in reality both Catholic and ancient, but it presupposes a Christian and Catholic State.

It existed long before the Reformation, working with more or less harmony according to the powers and principles of the Monarch and his chief Council. At the time of the Elizabethan settlement it was an eminently desirable union of the religious and civil power, the latter to support and sustain the former, giving it a firm foundation of establishment in the laws of the country. Church establishment does not mean a Church harried and governed by the State, but a Church which has a right to look for the support and co-operation of the civil power, and such no doubt was the English establishment in its beginnings. But eventually it became like one of those numerous marriages in which one partner grows away and develops on different lines from the other, turning what was once a congenial alliance into a bondage of incompatibles. The Church, after nearly falling away from her great ideal, recovered it in the nineteenth century with renewed light and devotion, whereas the State remained only nominally Christian and not even nominally Anglican. The various iniquitous Test Acts which had excluded both Nonconformists and Roman Catholics from any share in the Government had one by one been repealed, as the idea of toleration grew, with the result that the civil power was administered by men of all forms of religion, only a small number of them

being Anglicans or caring especially for the Anglican Church.

In this state of affairs it was difficult to picture any measure for the revision of the Prayer Book making satisfactory progress in a Parliament consisting of Roman Catholics, Nonconformists, Unitarians and Jews as well as Anglicans. The thought, moreover, of a Parliamentary debate on Church matters became unpleasing even to the most thick-skinned Churchman. The cry for Disestablishment, which for long had gone up from the foes of the Church, was now raised by its friends, though a large body of Churchmen still shrank from the idea of breaking their venerable union with the State; it seemed to them the abandonment of a sacred charge, and there were besides practical disadvantages attending the disendowment of a Church already too poor to support its own growth.

About this time a new school of Churchmen arose, forming under Canon Temple, now Bishop of Manchester, the well-known "Life and Liberty Movement." These men, though mostly recruited from the Broad Church party, also drew adherents from among both Evangelicals and Anglo-Catholics. The latter were by this time all more or less in favour of Disestablishment, and the "Life and Liberty Movement" offered at present the only workable compromise. By

means of the Enabling Bill of 1919, measures exclusively ecclesiastical, involving points of ceremonial and doctrine, need not be debated and could not be altered in the Houses of Parliament, but could be passed only *en bloc*, after approval by a Parliamentary Committee. To formulate them a body was created called first the National Assembly, then the Church Assembly, and consisting of a House of Bishops, a House of Clergy, and a House of Laity, the latter being elected by the Diocesan Councils, the members of which in their turn were elected by Parochial Church Councils set up in each parish, and for which communicants only were eligible, though every baptized member of the Church of England had the franchise.

The Anglo-Catholics supported the Enabling Bill largely in the hope that it would lead to a reform in the method of appointing Bishops, the present method being the chief difficulty and anomaly of the modern establishment. So far their expectations have not been fulfilled; indeed the scandal seems to have grown of late. The Broad Churchmen and Evangelicals on the other hand supported the measure in the hope that it would give greater power to the laity, especially on the Parochial Church Councils. But this hope too was disappointed. The reproduction of the conditions of the average Nonconformist

chapel, in which the Minister is more or less in the hands of his chief laymen, was unthinkable in the Apostolic Church of England, and the powers of the Church Councils have been limited almost to those of advisory bodies only.

The whole arrangement was at first regarded as a purely temporary one. Some hoped it would finally stave off Disestablishment, others hoped it would definitely lead to it.

The first work of the Church Assembly was naturally to consider Prayer Book revision. Anglo-Catholics had never wished for this. Having won their first battle of restoring the Prayer Book standard generally throughout the Church of England, they did not wish for any alterations in that standard, until the principles of the Movement should have so permeated the rank and file of English churchmanship as to justify a revision entirely satisfactory on the Catholic side; obviously that time had not come. The Evangelicals, in their new-found fervour for the Book of Common Prayer, did not wish for revision either, feeling that alterations would be made chiefly in a Catholic direction. Only those who might be described as "Central Churchmen," especially the members of the "Life and Liberty" party, wished for revision, and the power of this party had grown enormously of late.

§ 2

RELIGION AND THE WAR

Its growth may be largely attributed to the war of 1914-18. It was not astonishing that such a return to primitive conditions both at home and abroad, with all that it meant to many millions of people as well as to the organization of states and nations, should upset many preconceived notions and established habits in religion as in other matters. Every form of faith was put to the test in the furnace of those years, and none came well out of it.

Of the great apostolic churches, the Church of Rome showed herself sound in ideals and admirably peace-loving and impartial, but deficient in power; even her own subjects would no longer obey her commands. The days were evidently gone when the Popes could cause wars to cease. The Greek Church became involved in the downfall of the Russian Empire, paying the price of her age-long surrender to the State, and afterwards purging herself by martyrdom. The Anglican Church showed two faces. At the Front she was badly represented; the general verdict of fighting men was that the Anglican

padre was not so well chosen as either the Roman or the Nonconformist chaplain. For some reason, the Anglican Church seems to have kept the best of her clergy at home, and while on the battle-field, with certain glorious exceptions, her religion was made largely an affair of the body—a matter of cinemas, canteens, physical courage, and the corporal works of mercy—at home in England devout priests worked for souls, and Catholic devotion, which for long had lagged behind Catholic doctrine and Catholic ceremonial, now found at last its wings.

During the war the custom of reserving the Blessed Sacrament, which had been the exception rather than the rule even in churches of the Movement, now became general, and before the Reserved Sacrament thousands learned the art of private prayer as they had never learnt it before in empty churches or in solitude at home. The devotional revival, which was the legitimate successor of the ceremonial revival, gathered its first strength during the dreadful years of the war, when women's hearts were failing them for fear.

The National Mission of Repentance and Faith showed the spiritual attitude of the Church of England outside Catholic circles as well as within them. Her gesture of penitence among the tumult and the shouting, her bowed head

THE NATIONAL MISSION OF
REPENTANCE AND FAITH
1914-1918
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among the crests of war, will stand to the glory of *Ecclesia Anglicana* when other brave things that she has done are forgotten.

It is not surprising that these very different attitudes both at home and abroad created two very different types at the end of the war. To them also may be attributed the fact that Anglicanism since the war has become decidedly more feminine. The proportion of women to men must be much larger now than it used to be. This is probably not so much due to the fact that men lost their faith in the midst of the horrors and cruelties of war, as to the fact that the Church on the battle-field was ill-served as compared with the Church at home, where naturally most of the women remained, and in whose revival in penitence and devotion they shared.

It is therefore not surprising that two different schools of thought should have arisen as the result of conditions respectively at home and abroad. There were those to whom religion had revealed itself with a new beauty and compulsion; and on the other hand there were those whose faith in organized religion was dead, who saw no hope for the Church but in secularization. Thus the old situation of the early days of Tractarianism was recreated—of the days when Arnold and Whately sought to re-commend

religion by means opposed to Keble and Newman. Now as then the Church has to be re-commended to the people, and again some would seek to do it by making her descend from her throne and come down in the street to mix with other denominations and seek by every surrender to commend herself to all men. Reunion with separated Protestant bodies, which was Dr. Arnold's plan for saving the Church in 1833, the restatement of her formularies so as to make them acceptable and "up-to-date," the ingratiating of herself by such "stunts" as cinema services, Nonconformist preachers in Anglican cathedrals, women in the pulpit, and the like, have all been brought forward as the Church's only hope of salvation. On the other hand there are those who would rather take Newman and Keble's way, and re-commend the Church to the people not by surrendering her dignity but by a re-emphasizing of it, not by veiling her spirituality but by proclaiming it. Anglo-Catholics still believe as they believed then, that this is the only way for her to save herself as she was saved then.

The "Life and Liberty" party cannot be summarily placed in either of these groups. It has strong affinities with both, and many of its ideals will always have the strongest Anglo-Catholic support. On the other hand they can-

not help distrusting any attempt to re-commend religion by making it easier, and they fear that many supporters of the Movement, while encouraging the ceremonial side of Catholicism and emphasizing its beauty and æsthetic appeal would nevertheless weaken it by robbing it of its discipline, by setting aside such essentials as fasting and the Sacrament of Penance, by removing all that is difficult or inconvenient in the way of obligation. They fear any tampering with the Church's formularies in the interests of modern schools of thought, which come and go, and only with difficulty are able to formulate themselves while they stay.

The "Life and Liberty Movement" no doubt predominates among the central group of Churchmen, which is that best represented in the Church Assembly, and any Prayer Book revision that takes place is likely to be on the lines indicated by them. The Evangelicals do not wish for Prayer Book revision at all, nor do the Anglo-Catholics. The latter, however, feeling that revision is inevitable, have brought forward a scheme of their own in order to safeguard Catholic interests. It is not likely that their scheme will do more than influence the course of the debate. An uncomfortable and involved situation has thus been created; a part of the Catholic scheme has been adopted, and to accept

part out of a minimum is to produce a wretched insufficiency, yet that part is enough to disturb the consciences of Evangelical Churchmen, and to provoke feelings and public utterances not unlike those that greeted the doings of the early Ritualists. There seems to be a danger that the Church Assembly will finally decline to sanction any scheme of revision, which though it might save the Church some years of difficulty, would nevertheless make her the laughing-stock of Churches, since after fifteen years of travail she would have failed to produce even a mouse.

The present state of affairs is no doubt more hopeful than in the days before the Enabling Act was passed, but there will not be much improvement in the future unless English Churchmen can agree to look upon the present machinery of the Church Assembly as merely a temporary makeshift, something to fill the days until the Catholic Revival works its last achievement in the Church of England, and having restored Catholic doctrine, Catholic ceremonial, and Catholic devotion, finally restores Catholic government of the Church by means of canonically appointed Bishops and their synods. This task now lies before the Movement.

CHAPTER V
LOOKING BACKWARD

§ I

HIGHBURY, PAST AND PRESENT

PERHAPS the significance of the Anglo-Catholic Movement is most forcibly realized when we look at the whole of the Anglican Church to-day. If one of the early Tractarians, driven and scolded for teaching the doctrine of the Apostolic Ministry, the Real Presence, and the Eucharistic Sacrifice—or some early Ritualist, harried and mobbed for lighting candles and wearing a surplice in the pulpit, could return and see the English Church to-day, it would appear to him almost as if a miracle had happened. The effects of the Revival are plain to see, not only in the churches which follow its ways but—and this is its greatest triumph—in churches which profess to ignore it or even to repudiate it.

For the sake of illustration we will take an imaginary country town, typical of English life in its ways and surroundings. We need not create a new one, but take one which has been, so to

speaking, already used. Jane Austen's "Highbury" is just such a town—"Highbury" where Emma Woodhouse went to church and listened to Mr. Elton's sermons. Mr. Elton, though not on the same level as Henry Tilney or Edmund Bertram, was evidently not considered a bad clergyman, either by his parishioners or his creator. He certainly lived in his parish, when the custom of his time would have allowed him to live in town and employ a Curate as deputy; he visited the poor and provided at least as many services as his congregation expected. The Church life of Highbury was no worse if it was no better—and it probably was a little better—than that of the rest of the country at that time.

But it is doubtful if many of us to-day could have endured a Sunday spent in Highbury Parish Church under the Reverend Mr. Elton. For one thing, the church would probably have been both dark and dingy. On three sides heavy galleries would have shut off the light and air, while on sunny days long blinds would have hung over the windows, veiling their only beauty, which was the sight they gave of the elms in the churchyard. The walls would have been white-washed, with perhaps a few texts as decorations, since this was a superior kind of parish. At the east end of the nave would stand Mr. Elton's pulpit, with his clerk's desk at the foot—the whole

erection towering so high as completely to block all sight of the mean little altar in the chancel—a plain wooden table, which, on the Christmas Day when it snowed too hard for Emma to go to church, would have been covered by a huge flowing table-cloth for the quarterly administration of the Sacrament. Great square pews, some equipped with tables or with private stoves, would house the gentry from Hartfield and Randalls, and perhaps the young ladies from Mrs. Goddard's boarding-school. But the poor of the parish would have to crowd into the side benches and galleries, away from their betters.

The music would be provided by a barrel organ and maybe a fiddle or two in the gallery, and would not consist of more than an anthem, with Tate and Brady's metrical psalms. The rest of the service would be a duologue between Mr. Elton and his clerk, till the solemn moment came for him to ascend the pulpit. Then he would take off his long surplice, which reached his heels and therefore made it unnecessary for him to wear a cassock beneath it, and put on his silk gown, in which he would rustle up into the pulpit, drawing on his kid gloves as he went. His sermon, which would be read—and probably very well read—would scarcely last less than an hour, and the service itself, consisting of Morning Prayer, Litany and Ante-Communion, would

have lasted at least another. However, it was only reasonable to expect a certain lengthiness in the services on Sunday since they provided the only public worship of the week, indeed the townspeople's only opportunity for entering the house of God, which for the rest of the week would remain with fast-locked doors.

Thus it was in the days when Emma Woodhouse entertained at Hartfield, and went to dine at Randalls, and to strawberry-picnics at Donwell Abbey—and thus no doubt it remained long after her marriage to Mr. Knightley. But her children began to see changes, and we ourselves should see something very different if we went to Highbury to-day.

We will picture it now as a town of some twenty thousand inhabitants, and containing three churches. One is the old parish church of Mr. Elton's time, another is its daughter church built to provide for an increase of population during the eighties and nineties, while a third has been built to serve a new residential district out beyond the Rectory and the cottages where Emma and Harriet Smith went visiting. This is in the patronage of the Simeon Trustees, while the other new church is in Anglo-Catholic hands, and the parish church is typically "Moderate."

Anyone, then, wishing to study the modern Church of England will be able to do so under

three typical aspects in Highbury to-day; and he will see the effects of the Oxford Movement not only in the church which professes to maintain the Catholic tradition, but just as remarkably in the other two. The Evangelical church is indebted to the Revival for the mere fact of its being built. The revival of church building is a fruit of the Oxford Movement, and has had no parallel since the ages of faith. The sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries are barren periods in the history of church architecture, except for the time of Wren, when not only were special circumstances in operation but the Church of England stood closer to Anglo-Catholic ideals than at almost any other time between the Reformation and the Oxford Movement.

St. Simeon's, Highbury, has been well built and finely planned; there is no Puritan austerity in its architecture nor in those of its appointments which are not definitely ecclesiastical, such as lighting and seating. It cannot be said that the congregation worships God under conditions it would refuse to tolerate in its own drawing-rooms. There is a sense of proportion and beauty in the building and decoration of the church. The altar alone definitely asserts its Evangelical principles, being small and bare, in striking contrast to the fine marbles of the Sanctuary and the beautiful carved reredos

behind it. On the other hand, it is decently covered with a frontal of red damask, on which is even worked a cross. The use of altar frontals was one of the charges brought against St. Barnabas, Pimlico, in the early days of Ritualism, and the sight of the cross in a Christian place of worship plunged Christian men and women into horrified transports. But walking round St. Simeon's, Highbury, the stranger will probably see the cross several times—on the book-markers of the lectern (which caused a riot at Hemel Hempstead in 1854)—on the covers of the Bible itself, and on the antependium in the pulpit; while those flowers so abhorred by Victorian bishops, as expressing the utmost of foppishness and Popery, stand in tall vases behind the altar, which is never allowed to go without them.

The changes in the services are just as remarkable. Mr. Elton's congregation would probably have considered them reprehensibly Popish. Indeed it would be possible for one of the early Tractarians to imagine that he was attending a service of the Movement. The old duologue between the parson and the clerk has gone, and the congregation takes its share in the responses. The psalms are sung to Anglican chants, and hymns are introduced freely. A surpliced choir, such as seventy years ago was

greeted with a shower of brick-bats when it entered St. Paul's, Knightsbridge, sings to the accompaniment of a magnificent organ. The officiating priest wears a cassock and surplice, and does not change them to enter the pulpit. When he is there he may preach a sermon denouncing the Anglo-Catholic Movement, but his church and his service preach that Movement as a blessing to English religion.

When we look at the notice board in the porch we still see the blessing at work. It is true that Holy Communion is celebrated in the evening once a month, but every Sunday there is a Mass at eight, as well as sung Matins and Evensong, and though the church is closed during the week there is a shortened form of Evensong on Wednesday night. Sixty years ago all this would have been unthinkable except in the churches of the Movement. The architectural beauty of St. Simeon's, Highbury, the frequency and dignity of its services, the vesture of its ministers, the singing of its choir, are all fruits of the Tractarian revival. The leaven has penetrated to the outermost edge of the lump.

When we come to the parish church, where Mr. Elton once held sway, the effects of the Revival are far more obvious. The ancient building has been restored; not very intelligently perhaps, for in the matter of church restoration

zeal easily outran discretion, nevertheless the work shows much care, expense and love. The whitewash has all been removed, displaying the ancient stones, the three-decker pulpit no longer blocks all view of the Sanctuary, and one of the ancient side chapels, which in Mr. Elton's day was used as a store-house for old pews, benches and even less definitely ecclesiastical lumber, is now an acknowledged Lady Chapel, furnished for the service of God. The new altar with its blue frontal and blue hangings is fitted with a silver cross and candlesticks, and here the daily services are read, and Mass is said two or three times during the week, as well as on Holy days. The High Altar is fitted up according to an earlier and less fortunate taste in brilliantly gleaming brass; it has, however, handsome damask frontals of the four liturgical colours, while the decorations of the walls of the Sanctuary show the best of modern art and a lavish spending of the faithful.

At the "early service" on Sunday linen vestments will be seen in use; the candles are alight upon the altar, the priest genuflects at the consecration, while the sign of the cross is made during the service by the priest and perhaps also by certain members of the congregation. There is a Server in the Sanctuary, though he takes no more part in the service than to help at the offertory and ablutions. The chief service at

eleven o'clock is still Matins, solemnly sung with choir and organ, but there is a sung Mass at ten o'clock once a month, and probably it will not be long before this church, like so many other churches which would not for a moment call themselves "extreme," reverts to the primitive order and sings Matins before the chief Eucharist of the day. There is still a large number of communicants at the late Mass, but fasting communion is taught as an ideal to confirmation candidates, who, moreover, are told at least that confession is a possibility for Anglicans. The instruction has a tendency to be vague, but the doctrines of the Real Presence and of the Eucharistic Offering are taught at least in intention. Holy days are scrupulously observed by a small group of devout women, and there is no meat eaten on Fridays at the Vicarage. Indeed if the Evangelical church reflects the Tractarianism of sixty or seventy years back, when it was first trying to assert itself in decency and order, the Moderate church reflects the Ritualism of the seventies and eighties, together with the first principles of Tractarian doctrine.

It is true that in most Moderate churches the doctrine is not as a rule so safe as the ritual, since lately "Central" Anglicanism has shown a tendency to adopt the externals of Catholicism while ignoring its internal teaching and discipline.

Anglo-Catholics may wish that in every church where a sung Eucharist is made the chief service on Sunday, they might feel sure that there is a corresponding advance in the teaching of such matters as sacramental confession and fasting communion. Nevertheless it is true that the general standard of Anglicanism now might almost be described as Tractarian, not only in parish churches but in most of the cathedrals of to-day.

Resorting to statistics we find that in 1854 a daily service was held in only 650 churches in England, whereas in 1919 Matins and Evensong were read daily in 5,427 churches. In 1854 there was a weekly Mass only in 128 churches, the others contenting themselves with one a month or even one a quarter; in 1919 the Mass was offered weekly in 11,842 churches, while the offering of the daily Mass has risen from three churches in 1854 to 1,215 in 1919. Many Moderate town churches now have a daily Mass, and its restoration, as well as the restoration of the sung Mass as an important if not the chief service on Sundays, has been one of the greatest gifts that Anglo-Catholicism has been able so far to bestow upon Central Churchmanship.

When we come to St. Mary's, Highbury, which openly calls itself Catholic, we see naturally the effects of the Movement much more plainly.

We see that while the whole Church of England has been influenced, and the greater part of it considerably enriched and advanced by the Tractarian Revival, in a large number of churches the battle for doctrine, ceremonial, and devotion is already won.

A member of the Catholic Church in France if he entered St. Simeon's, in spite of the dignity and order of the building, would at once think himself in some Protestant place of worship. He would probably think the same in the parish church, though he might marvel at some of its appointments. But on entering St. Mary's he would take for granted that he was in a Catholic church, and, not knowing the state of English religion, would probably be surprised on being told that it was not one of his own communion.

St. Mary's shares the debt of St. Simeon's to the revival of the church building, but its beauty is not that of architecture only. Taste, care, and expense have been lavished upon the decoration of the Sanctuary and side altars, of which there are two—one specially used for Masses of Requiem. There is a statue of Our Lady and a statue of St. George; the walls are bright with pictures, the Stations of the Cross are hung in the nave, there are two confessionals, and the times at which confessions can be heard are written up in the porch. The Blessed Sacrament

is reserved in the lady chapel, and there is always someone at prayer before it. Indeed the whole church has an atmosphere of prayer and of constant use. The notice-board shows that there is a daily Mass and that a Sung Mass is the chief service on Sundays. Devotions before the Blessed Sacrament take place on one evening in the week. In this church not only are the Eucharistic vestments worn, but there is every adjunct of Catholic ceremonial—lights, incense, and holy water.

In spite of all this, the Anglo-Catholic Vicar is on the lee-side of Episcopal displeasure. No doubt the Moderate church is the one most in favour at the palace, but nothing at St. Mary's has been actually censured or forbidden, and the Bishop takes a kindly interest in the parish and its affairs. This would not, of course, be possible in every diocese; some Bishops forbid Devotions, others even attempt to interfere with the canonical duty of Reservation; but in the majority of English dioceses such a church as St. Mary's would be on terms of good fellowship with the powers that be, and not only would all the adjuncts of Catholic worship be visible within its walls but the fullness of Catholic doctrine with regard to the Blessed Sacrament, the Saints, and Penance would be taught from its pulpit, and given public expression in its services by means

of extra collects and the use of the English Hymnal. The latter, by the way, has enabled countless churches to restore full sacramental doctrine and the practice of the Invocation of Saints without adding to the Prayer Book liturgy anything more than hymns sanctioned generally throughout the Church of England and actually in use in some cathedrals.

St. Mary's is an average church of the Catholic Revival. There are others which would go beyond it, but the number of churches which have adopted such practices as the Latin Mass, Communion in one kind and the rite of Benediction, are only a mere handful compared with the general mass of the Movement. As said before, conditions vary in different dioceses, but the fact that such a church exists as an accepted part of the Anglican machinery, if not as yet a well-favoured part, is a powerful illustration of the work that has been done since Mr. Elton preached in Highbury little more than a hundred years ago.

§ 2

FRUITS OF THE SPIRIT

There is one great work of the Revival which stands by itself, both in its magnitude and in the effect it has had on English religion. That is the revival of the religious life both for men and women in the Church of England.

This work was one of the first which the Oxford Reformers undertook. In 1841 Miss Sellon first made her vows before the altar of St. Mary's, Oxford, and shortly afterwards became Mother Superior of the Order of the Holy Trinity, founded by Dr. Pusey, and the first religious community—apart from the very different experiment at Little Gidding—to be established in England since the Dissolution. It did not long stand alone. Religious Orders for Women sprang up on all sides. John Mason Neale, the well-known scholar and hymn-writer, one of the Cambridge Tractarians, founded the Order of St. Margaret's, East Grinstead, while his sister founded the Order of the Holy Cross. St. Mary's, Wantage, St. John the Baptist's, Clewer, St. Peter's, Kilburn, the Horbury Sisters, and the Sisters of the Epiphany at Truro, are merely some of the many religious communities which

exist in the Church at the present time. There are actually more women under religious vows in the Church of England to-day than there were before the Dissolution of the Monasteries.

The religious life for men has revived more slowly and the male communities are still fewer than those for women, though the standard of these Orders is remarkably high. The Society of St. John the Evangelist, Cowley, is known throughout the world for holiness and good works, as is also the Community of the Resurrection at Mirfield. There has, too, been a revival on Franciscan lines in the Society of the Divine Compassion. Most remarkable of all, Benedictine monachism has now been restored in the Church of England. After an unsuccessful attempt by Father Ignatius in the early days of the Movement, and a more recent failure of the Benedictines in Caldey Island—the majority of whom joined the Church of Rome—a Benedictine Community has been formally established at Pershore Abbey, and is already of weight and reputation in the Church.

Indeed in some ways the restoration of the religious life in the Church of England may be considered the greatest work so far of the Catholic Revival. It is one of the surest evidences to Anglo-Catholics that their Movement has been inspired by the Holy Ghost.

But here again we must not look for results only among those who give the party their open and enthusiastic support. Just as in Highbury the Moderate and Evangelical churches show the marks of the Revival as surely, if not so obviously, as the Anglo-Catholic church, so the revival of the religious life has been accompanied by movements on similar lines in Moderate and Evangelical circles. This does not mean that communities have actually been formed, but that the ideals of prayer and devotion, the need for quiet and meditation, have become both apparent and practical to all sections of churchmanship. At the beginning of the Oxford Movement theological colleges were unknown, now they are a part of the established machinery of the Church, providing a specialized training for candidates of all schools of thought. The days are over when a man went straight from the University to the cure of souls. Though the Anglo-Catholics were the pioneers of their foundation, theological colleges are by no means exclusively Anglo-Catholic institutions, indeed some exist on definitely Evangelical or even Protestant lines.

Ordinations themselves are no longer the casual events they used to be in pre-Tractarian days, when the candidates used to put up at the local inn, and wait on the Bishop's convenience. Nowadays an ordination is a solemn occasion,

involving days of retreat either at the Bishop's palace or some other suitable place. The whole conception of the ministry has been raised and its approach been made more solemn and devout. This is the work of the Catholic Movement, which began with the attempt to restore the dignity of the Apostolic ministry.

Among the laity, too, the use of Retreats and Quiet Days is by no means confined to Anglo-Catholics; in many dioceses official Retreat Houses exist and are in constant use. This revival of the practice of prayer in secular life goes hand in hand with the revival of the religious life itself, and is a direct fruit of the Movement though it has long passed beyond the borders of the Anglo-Catholic party.

§ 3

THE ANGLICAN EMPIRE

But perhaps the most remarkable trace the Movement has left upon the Church of England as a whole is its enormous extension and development throughout the world during the last fifty or sixty years. A few Colonial Bishoprics, chiefly connected with the Indian Establishment, and

the notorious Jerusalem Bishopric, were in the early days of the Movement the only evidence that the Church of England was not a comparatively small sect confined to one country only. Since then she has established a hierarchy which is Catholic in the literal sense of the word, since it is universal. In every continent and in almost every country the Apostolic dignity of the Anglican Church is displayed before the eyes of all nations. At the Lambeth Conference of 1921, 252 bishops, all in visible communion with the Church of England, were assembled from all parts of the world.

It would not be correct to attribute this increase merely to Imperial development and political necessity. The greater part of the British Empire was already established before the Oxford Movement, and it was not till after its influence had reached high places that the need became apparent for the English Church to be wherever the English flag was flown. The refusal of the episcopate of his day to consecrate a Bishop for the American colonies led to Wesley's "consecration" of Coke and the beginning of the Wesleyan schism. The first American Church was driven to seek its orders from Scotland. But during the last sixty years Colonial Bishoprics have sprung up like tents in the night, and Colonial Provinces combine in one

synodical fellowship whole areas that used to be left to the sporadic efforts of ill-supported missionaries.

It is true that the spread and prestige of the Anglican episcopate, the establishment of the Anglican Church on a world-wide instead of on a local basis, is greatly the work of the present Archbishop, who cannot be called an active sympathizer with Anglo-Catholic ideals. It is largely his admirable statesmanship which has given the Anglican Church a dignity in the eyes of the nations which has never been hers so fully, even in the ages of faith. But Dr. Davidson is merely a personal instance of the effects of the Anglo-Catholic Movement on ordinary English churchmanship. His whole life and ministry express the ideals of the early Tractarians. Without their labours one could not imagine his.

“Lo! he taketh up the Isles as a little thing.”

Those were the words which, we are told by his son and biographer, another Archbishop of Canterbury, Edward White Benson, heard in a dream after he had been offered the Metropolitan see. The jurisdiction of the Isles is now the jurisdiction of the world, and the fame of Rome and of Constantinople is not more wide-flung than the fame of Canterbury.

The effects of this geographical catholicity

would be hard to over-estimate. Apart from benefits to the Englishman abroad and to the numerous nationalities under British rule, there is the liberation of the Church in these Colonial dioceses, where she is free from the chains of establishment and prejudice which bind her in the Mother Country. In many of the young Colonial dioceses the problem of Prayer Book revision is already solved. In the South African province, in the West Indies, in many dioceses in Central Africa, the Book of Common Prayer has already received the enrichments that it still waits for here. The changes that are objected to in some quarters for the reason that they would "upset the doctrinal balance of the Church of England" are already accomplished, since they have been made in the dioceses of Bloemfontein, Nyasaland, Zanzibar, and others, which are just as much dioceses of the Church of England as Chichester, Durham, or London.

Any picture of modern Anglo-Catholicism is incomplete if we look in England alone. In the Anglican Church overseas—in Zanzibar, in Bloemfontein, in Accra, in Nassau, in Colombo, and many other dioceses we have the spectacle not of an occasional Anglo-Catholic parish struggling in the midst of a prevailing moderation, but of a whole diocese organized on Catholic lines, and expressing itself fully in Catholic

doctrine, discipline, ceremonial, and devotion. Away from the bondage of the establishment, of tradition and inherited prejudices, the Catholic battle is already won, and many an Anglo-Catholic, disheartened by the Mother's dealing, looks with hope and courage renewed towards the children.

An even more important result of this widespread Anglican empire is the exaltation of our Church in the eyes of other communions. Already its fruits are visible in our relations with the Orthodox Church of the East, who, seeing the workings of Anglicanism in its midst, has been forced to revise much of its earlier estimation. It is, therefore, a powerful factor in the cause of reunion. Canterbury could not treat with Rome or Constantinople if she called to them merely from the Isles, but she has taken her place with them in power and universality.

This imperial dignity, having much of the temporal as well as of the spiritual about it, is part of the Anglo-Catholic ideal for her, and in this as in other matters, it is all the more hopeful and satisfactory that this ideal is being realized not only by the direct successors of the Tractarians but by the descendants of those who mistrusted and repudiated them.

CHAPTER VI
THE MOVEMENT TO-DAY

§ I

ANGLO-CATHOLICISM AND OTHER PARTIES IN THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND

ANGLO-CATHOLICISM has now established itself in the Church of England. It is no longer merely on the defensive, nor is it conscious still of a great way to make in the recovery of Catholic doctrine and practice for its own adherents. Indeed it seems as if all the Catholic treasures which the Church of England has for so long renounced and set aside have at least been taken out and shown her. The full doctrine of the Catholic Church, without hesitation or qualification, has been preached in Anglican pulpits, the full discipline of the Catholic Church has been applied in Anglican confessionals, the full ceremonial of the Catholic Church and all the traditional ornaments of her ministers have beautified Anglican Sanctuaries.

The party has also steadily increased in numbers, so that instead of being a small eccentric group within the Church of England it must now amount to almost one quarter of the

whole. This, of course, includes many who have not perhaps yet come to the full realization of all that the Movement stands for. Catholicism in England is a movement rather than an established state of affairs, and in a large body of people advancing together there are always some who are behind the others, just as there are some who march ahead. All the members of the advancing group are naturally not in the same position.

This accounts for the differences among Catholics which undoubtedly exist to-day, just as they existed at the beginning. As has been said, the nature of the Movement makes such differences inevitable. If Anglo-Catholicism were a party in the political sense of the word any variety of counsel would be ominous, but as it is not a party but a Movement, variety is a part of its natural progress. Certainly the differences within the Catholic ranks to-day are no greater than at any other period in the Revival's history. Froude and Newman marched ahead of the early Tractarians—Mackonochie and Lowder were regarded with some alarm by men like Body and Rhodes-Bristow. There has always been a vanguard and a rearguard to the Catholic army. There have also, of course, been stragglers, free-lances, and men who have set out on a swashbuckling course of their own. But their existence in small numbers—and it has yet to be proved that their

numbers are not small—does not affect the general integrity of the rank and file. On all fundamental matters of the doctrine and discipline of the Church and its Apostolic ministry, Anglo-Catholics stand as one, and all minor difficulties would be put aside if any concerted action were made against them.

However, this is not likely to happen. In some circles there may be, and probably is, a desire that Anglo-Catholics should leave the Church of England, and certain minds may have toyed with the idea of making it impossible for them to remain. But such an attitude is only that of a minority. Old-fashioned Protestantism is now a spent force in the Church of England, its numbers dwindle, and any protest it wishes to make must be made in alliance with Protestant Nonconformity, which largely robs it of its effect. The modern Evangelical stands many leagues away from his fathers—in some ways he is as far from them as are the Catholics themselves—moreover, there is too much in common between Catholicism and Evangelicalism, old or new, for them ever to be long at war.

The most active enemy at the present time is probably Modernism. The attitude of Anglo-Catholics towards modern thought has been much criticized in some quarters—they have been called reactionary and obscurantist. But one should remember that at the time of the

anti-Darwin outcry, when Protestantism rallied in noisy despair to a last fight for Adam and Eve and Noah's flood, Anglo-Catholicism held its hand, and indeed gave a qualified welcome to the new learning.

The attitude of Anglo-Catholicism towards modern science and philosophy is cautious and critical, but not hostile. New discoveries in science and history or new theories in philosophy and psychology do not at once drive it to the conclusion that the formularies of the Church must be revised; but on the other hand it is bound neither by Papal encyclicals nor Protestant dogmas of Biblical inspiration. It has in these matters a freedom unknown either to the Papist or the Protestant. At the same time it is not to be as a child driven astray by every wind of doctrine. Its sentiment towards modern thought hitherto has been: "If this is the truth it will be found ultimately in agreement with the Church's teaching, since truth cannot contradict truth." This means that it has been able to keep its head in the shifting chaos of modern philosophical and scientific opinion; it remembers too well that the Modernism of one day is not, as some would have it, the orthodoxy of the next, but its discarded intellectual lumber. The Modernism of St. Augustine's time, the "modern thought" of a cultured and up-to-date young man, was Manichæism, that grotesque farrago of

the Kingdoms of Light and Darkness, bestrode by Arian demi-gods. The Modernism of the sixteenth century was Calvinism, of the eighteenth Deism, and when we look at them to-day we can picture how our present Modernism will probably appear in a century or two.

The very nature of Catholicism makes it able to incorporate within itself anything of Modernism that is permanent and valuable. The Catholic Church has never been obliged merely to crush and ignore its rivals, but has also spoiled them as Israel spoiled the Egyptians, taking from them jewels of silver and jewels of gold. Thus it was in the times of Judaism and of the Pagan mystery religions, thus it has been down the ages ever since, and thus it is to-day. Catholicism will always be the enemy of those who oppose its ancient and proved philosophy with the intellectual fashion of the hour. It stands apart from scientific theories and discoveries that have not yet been co-ordinated with the general experience of mankind; it refuses to allow truth to be made a matter of intellectual convenience and degraded to the level of Pilate's jest. On the other hand it will always be ready to welcome any new guests of history, philosophy or psychology with the freedom of one who does the honours of the house.

§ 2

ANGLO-CATHOLICISM AS A "TOLERATED PARTY"

The party that Anglo-Catholicism has most to fear is neither Protestantism nor Modernism, but official Church-of-Englandism—the religion of high places. It is true that there is no longer that active dislike and persecution of Catholics which was at one time a function of the Victorian episcopate. The modern Bishop being, almost invariably, a lover of souls, cannot fail to appreciate the Evangelical power of the Catholic Movement in his diocese. The modern Bishop loves statistics, and the number of communicants and confirmation candidates in parishes where the full faith is preached and practised compare very favourably with those of more moderate views. On the other hand, the powers of the episcopate are directed against Anglo-Catholicism in a manner more deadly to-day than sixty years ago, for its object is to change the Catholic Movement into a tolerated party. Protestants and Modernists would drive the Anglo-Catholic out of the Church of England, but his Bishop would keep him at the cost of his soul. Men like Stanton and Dolling have convinced the Bishops of the value of Catholic work for souls;

also much that was withstood and fought against by the diocesans of Stanton and Dolling is now approved of and even practised by the diocesans of their successors. It may be said that the general standard of official Anglicanism is quite High Church, and the efforts of the modern episcopate seem to be directed towards the persuasion of Anglo-Catholics to conform to this standard. Again and again the Bishops proclaim the comprehensiveness of the Church of England—a comprehensiveness which will apparently include a clipped and truncated Catholicism as a matter of toleration.

Herein lies the danger of these times. When the Catholic faith was openly denied, and Protestantism and Erastianism were rampant in Bishops' palaces, there could be no question of compromise; but now that pitfall of English religion yawns before the Anglo-Catholic as it yawned before, and finally engulfed, the Reformers of the sixteenth century. Anglo-Catholics know that the points they are asked to give up to-day are not, as they used to be, the essentials of their religion; to abandon them does not involve any actual repudiation of Catholic doctrine, therefore to stand out for them is especially difficult since it exposes their champions to the accusations of rigorism, narrow-mindedness, and petty devotion to details. It is also natural that such a policy should bring about a certain

amount of disagreement in the Catholic ranks. Many Anglo-Catholics, notably scholars, are aware of the historical as well as the doctrinal unimportance of some of the positions that Anglo-Catholics fight for to-day; they know that even if Roman Catholicism were to be re-established in this country it would not necessarily involve the acceptance of much that is now contended for by the Anglo-Catholic party, and therefore since peace and goodwill seem offered by surrender they regret inevitably the fighting spirit of other men which urges them to refuse to abandon one jot of what they have won.

These latter, who are mostly men of pastoral rather than scholastic experience, maintain that they fight for points which are not in themselves essential to Catholicism because they are asked to abandon them for non-Catholic reasons. For instance, if they were convinced that every Bishop who asks for the cessation of extra-liturgical Devotions to the Blessed Sacrament believed with his heart and soul in the Catholic doctrine of the Real Presence, their attitude would certainly be different. But they know that in many cases they are asked to abandon worship of this kind because the Bishop of the diocese has grave doubts as to whether "the Presence is not withdrawn from the Reserved Sacrament" apart from the act of Communion, or

indeed whether that Presence was ever an actual presence in the Elements, and not some vague presence in the rite, such as a certain form of Anglican theology has discovered of late. They also know that even in cases where the Bishop himself is doctrinally sound his request is made in the interest of those who are not. They see these people unchecked and unreprieved for teaching and practices utterly contrary both to the Catholic faith and the Book of Common Prayer. They wait in vain for the Bishop who rebukes Devotions to make some pronouncement on the subject of Evening Communion, to utter some word of rebuke to those priests who refuse to hear confessions in direct disobedience to the Book of Common Prayer, or to those dignitaries who sometimes in the pulpits of our cathedrals deny the Catholic faith.

Anglo-Catholics do not favour any policy of coercion, and they would rather that these people were left merely to the discipline of their own experience than subjected to more drastic methods; but they cannot help feeling that for the whole episcopate to concentrate on the suppression of extra-liturgical worship of the Blessed Sacrament and to ignore entirely the widespread abuses in connection with it on the part of those who deny it not only worship, but in many cases even due reverence, is to upset that doctrinal balance of the Church of England

which they assure us so frequently is their chief regard in administering its affairs.

In this sense Anglo-Catholics would ask for toleration of all parties, but in another sense toleration is a salve that they can never accept, for the whole point of the Anglo-Catholic Movement is the conversion of England, the restoration of the Anglican Church to the fullness of Catholic faith and practice which are hers by right of her inherent catholicity. Therefore they are unable to contemplate their continued existence as a party. The object of the Anglo-Catholic Movement is to bring itself to an end as quickly as possible. To continue as a party in a state of toleration would merely be to perpetuate the divisions of the Church of England, and establish a camouflaged schism.

There are other dangers which lie in the direction of official Anglicanism apart from its attitude towards Anglo-Catholics. By its nature it is facing both ways, and has to deal not only with Catholics inside its own communion and outside it, but with Protestants and Modernists and all the separated bodies of English Non-conformity. At one time it was greatly feared that it would make such concessions in the cause of reunion with these separated bodies as to compromise the Catholic position of the Anglican Church if not actually to unchurch her. Moreover certain rash utterances of certain safe

dignitaries on the subject of the ministry of women have caused at one time or another grave disquiet among Anglo-Catholics. What would be their position, they ask, if a woman should ever be ordained to the priesthood of the Church of England, or even to the diaconate in the sense that it is conferred on men? What would be their position if a Nonconformist minister were allowed to celebrate Holy Communion in an Anglican church? Neither of these dangers looms so large as five or six years ago, before the last Lambeth Conference, which showed clearly that the Church of England was not taking any risks with her catholicity. But one of the stimulating conditions of being an Anglican is that you never know what is going to happen next—you cannot feel confident that there might not be some sudden betrayal—and then where would the Anglo-Catholic Movement be?

The answer seems inevitably "Not in the Church of England," but no Anglo-Catholic really believes that it will ever come to that. His reason for this belief is not so much confidence in the powers that be, though he trusts in the eminent good sense and the statesmanship of the present Archbishop, who has saved more than one dangerous situation, also in the friendly relations between the Anglican and Orthodox Churches, which would make most Anglican dignitaries think twice before compromising

themselves in the eyes of Constantinople. His real ground for confidence is his belief that *Ecclesia Anglicana* is a true branch of the true Vine, an integral part of that Holy Catholic Church of which her Founder said "the gates of Hell shall not prevail against it." He believes that she has her share in that promise and that it will not fail her.

History has shown again and again that crises which seemed to threaten the life and catholicity of the Church of England, and in the stress of which many left her, have always been successfully passed, and though the final danger has threatened it has never actually fallen. From the time of the Reformation when so many wished to sweep away not only the Papacy but the Apostolic orders and ministry, through the vicissitudes of the Civil War and the Commonwealth, when she was apparently destroyed, and her liturgy was celebrated only in an obscure embassy chapel, down to the days when the Oxford Reformers saved her from the threats of the Whig Government and the even more dangerous championship of Arnold and Whately, she has managed to keep the essentials of Catholicism, if sometimes it was the bare essentials only. Since the Oxford Movement there have been many more of these crises, but all have somehow been safely passed and events have justified those who have stuck to the

apparently sinking ship. Modern Anglo-Catholics would feel themselves men of little faith if they believed that having weathered the crises of the Jerusalem Bishopric, Newman's secession, the Gorham judgment, the Public Worship Regulation Act and the Kikuyu controversy, she should finally go to pieces on such a rock as the Protestant reunion or the ministry of women.

That, until she is converted to her own catholicity, the Church of England will continue periodically to scare her loyal sons and daughters seems inevitable, but the same sons and daughters feel now that they know her too well to believe that she will ever do any of the many things that she threatens, or that her Lord who built her upon the Rock of the Apostles and Prophets will allow the gates of hell to prevail against her.

§ 3

INTERNAL DANGERS

After all, the dangers to the Catholic Movement from without are never likely to be so serious as the dangers that assail it from within. Danger and persecution only stiffen and consolidate a cause: "Rejoice and be exceeding

glad" is the bidding of the Christ to His followers at these times, not only because they are honoured by being treated as their Master, but because zeal and virility are the reward of those who are persecuted for righteousness' sake.

Interior dangers are another matter, and they have a tendency to lift up their heads when exterior dangers are beginning to die down. It has become the fashion lately to assert that Anglo-Catholicism will soon perish of its own internal difficulties, and even if these are not nearly so formidable as its opponents would like to believe, they are nevertheless worth consideration. They are not peculiar to Anglo-Catholicism, they have from the earliest times threatened and disturbed the whole Christian Church. In the Movement to-day already their nature is changing as certain of the older ones are being overcome and a new order arises.

The older dangers of Anglo-Catholicism are parochialism and what a certain eminent clergyman once described as "an inordinate attachment to preachers." The danger of parochialism was almost inevitable under the earlier conditions of the Movement. When Catholic teaching and Catholic ceremonial were to be found only in certain churches dotted like oases in a desert of unawakened Anglicanism it was only natural that Catholics should cling together in these small

parochial groups, knowing that within them only was it possible to receive the sacramental fullness as well as the Catholic integrity of doctrine. Such churches as St. Alban's, Holborn, St. Barnabas', Pimlico, St. Bartholomew's, Brighton, St. Peter's, Plymouth, were little Catholic worlds functioning fully and completely in the barrenness of Anglican space. People would travel long distances in order to worship at one of these churches, and it was not remarkable that under pressure of outside events, these little worlds became sufficient unto themselves while their rulers were paid semi-divine honours.

Lately, however, various causes have combined to break up this concentration; and no doubt the most active as well as the most encouraging has been the gradual permeation of Catholic principles throughout the Church of England, so that there are now very few parish churches in which all the sacraments cannot be obtained. In the days when confessions were heard only by a small number of clergy in a handful of churches it is not surprising that the tendency of the Catholic laity was to concentrate on those churches and those clergymen, but now that very few parish priests are not able and willing to hear confessions, even if they do not do so as an accepted rule of their ministry, now that quite "Moderate" churches provide such facilities for worship as a daily Mass and a sung Mass on Sundays, Catholics

are no longer forced to go to their own churches for the necessities of their religion.

The diocesan machinery of the modern bishop, so much more a father-in-God than his Victorian predecessor, is also doing much to break down parochial barriers, and now that both clergy and laity of all shades of opinion are brought into contact with each other the parochial danger seems considerably less.

✓ The personal danger—the over insistence on the personal element—also shows signs of decrease; indeed, for various reasons, it never had a very sure footing in the Movement. In a corporate religion, resting on tradition and history and the common experience of the Fellowship, the personal danger must always be considerably less than in forms of religion dependent on the individual. A religion whose central act of worship is the Mass will be delivered from the thralldom of the pulpit and dependence on the “acceptable preacher.” One of the first rules of art is to merge the personality of the artist into the work that he is doing, and as priestcraft comes to be considered more and more as an art, and the saying of Mass is standardized by rules which are artistic as well as ecclesiastical, the intrusion of the personality of the priest into his work grows less and less. It is, of course, most in evidence in the Confessional, but here again the wise priest strives to speak only as the voice of the Church.

Though no doubt there is an element of personal attachment and devotion in Anglo-Catholicism, as there is in all other forms of religion where there are leaders and teachers, that element is not in itself so dangerous as elsewhere, since it is definitely alien to its environment and in no way is Catholicism dependent on it. It is characteristic of the Movement that since Dr. Pusey died it has had no official leader. Venerated names it has had in plenty, but its progress can never be attributed to the personality of any one man. In its very early days it survived the loss of the most brilliant, courageous and attractive leader any cause could have; its survival of that loss spoke well for its future independence.

But though the old dangers of parochialism and personal limitation seem to be passing away, dangers of a new kind have arisen and are casting at least their shadows on the Movement. One of these seems to be directly due to a cause which was partly responsible for the laying of the parochial bogey. The Anglo-Catholic Congress Movement has done much to bring congregations together and also to bring within the scope of the Revival churches which are in active sympathy with it, though perhaps not fully accepting all its words and works. It has now been made plain to Catholics that the object of their Movement is not to create Catholic oases in

the Anglican desert, but to make that desert itself to blossom as a rose. On the other hand, any attempt at party organization lays the Revival open to the dangers of bureaucracy, intolerance and intrigue, and that Anglo-Catholicism should exchange its spiritual for a political impulse would be the greatest catastrophe that could ever befall the descendants of the Tractarians.

So real has this danger seemed to some, and so terrible its effects, that they would prefer the Catholic party to remain unorganized. This would no doubt be a better thing in different circumstances, but the setting up of the Church Assembly and the organization of every other party in the Church to deal with its affairs has made some sort of organization of the Catholic party inevitable. The Church Assembly introduced the Parliamentary atmosphere into Church matters and there is no escape from the consequences. Much as Anglo-Catholics dislike a great deal that the Assembly stands for, they cannot remain detached from it if they are to continue their work, and they cannot take their share in it without organization as a party, even if such organization involves the usual party risks.

This risk, which the Anglo-Catholic Movement is obliged to face, seems the worst danger that threatens it at the present time, other dangers existing more in the imaginations of its

critics than in actual fact. The danger of obscurantism has already been dealt with. The danger of a return to magic and superstition rests on a misapprehension of the meaning of words.¹ The danger of a preponderating feminine influence cannot be at once dismissed, but before one regards this as a danger, one has to decide whether a Movement is necessarily imperilled because it appeals chiefly to women. After all, there were three women to one man at the foot of the Cross.

The religious emotion seems in its essential constitution more female than male. It might be said that men who are religious are so by virtue of the woman which every man has in him, for no man is ever completely and entirely a man any more than any woman is completely and entirely a woman. A woman's temperament predisposes her to religion more naturally than does a man's; she is at once more adventurous and more loyal in the things of the spirit. The circumstances of her life, moreover, are less likely to quench the religious spark in her than the circumstances of a man's life. Very early in his career a man will find that everyday life as he is supposed to lead it runs directly contrary to religion as he understands it; the whole system of the world is at variance with the system of the Kingdom of God, and as his manhood involves

¹ See Appendix B.

him more deeply in that system than a woman is involved, the sacrifice demanded of him in the matter of religion is much greater. More women may be drawn to religion than men, but the man who is drawn to religion has probably made greater sacrifices and pledged his loyalty at far greater cost than has the woman.

The cost of the Catholic religion is even heavier than that of any other form of Christianity. Experience has shown that men are willing enough to become High Church; the average man likes pomp and ceremony—witness the elaboration of his civic undertakings and the formality of his social code—but he dislikes the intrusion of a traditional discipline, he would go his own way, taking and leaving what he likes. It is not so much that he revolts against tradition, for in this respect men are generally less emancipated than women, but he rebels against its outward enforcement by his fellow man, a circumstance which appeals to women rather than repels them.

Besides psychological conditions there is also the effects of the recent war, when women, remaining at home, came under the fluence of English religion at its best, whereas at the Front, in the camps and on the battle-field, it was usually at its least effective.

But these conditions need not be more than temporary, and already a generation is growing

up to which they do not apply. In this younger generation the religious impulse seems to be more equally distributed between men and women, and the change will no doubt soon show its effects in the proportions of Anglo-Catholicism, for it is a remarkable and encouraging fact that it is a religion which appeals to youth. The numbers of young men and women in an Anglo-Catholic congregation is often in excess of the middle-aged and elderly, and if one compares a gathering of Anglo-Catholics in Congress or otherwise, with a gathering of some other type of churchmanship, the average age is seen to drop at once from fifty or older to thirty or under. The times are passed when the thoughts of youth were despised, and Catholicism may indeed take heart from youth's welcome and pride itself that in days of change and overthrow it is still "a song in the land of the young."

§ 4

ANGLO-CATHOLICISM AND THE HISTORIC CHURCHES OF CHRISTENDOM

To many people the thing that matters is not the relation between Anglo-Catholicism and the rest of the Church of England but between Anglo-Catholicism and the Church of Rome.

From the days of the Reformation Rome has been always in some degree the bogey of the English people. They have an inheritance of prejudice and racial memory which regards her as the enemy of both spiritual and personal freedom. Only a very mild favour shown to Roman Catholics cost King James II his throne, and a hundred years later an attempt to give Roman Catholics ordinary rights as citizens plunged the whole of London into riot. Another attempt was made successfully fifty years later, but though popular prejudice had died down sufficiently to allow the Catholic Emancipation Bill to be passed, the general temper of the country was roused into fresh alarm, an alarm roused not only by the Roman Catholics themselves but by the increasing number of those who were attempting to revive the Catholicism of the Church of England.

The confusion of what is Catholic with what is Roman Catholic is, as we have already seen, an old difficulty with the English people. It is a confusion which is only just beginning to be educated away. In the early days of the Movement the revival of the most primitive doctrines, having their origin in days when the position of the modern Papacy was unthought of, were stigmatized as betrayals of England to Rome. And so it has been ever since; Catholic doctrine and Catholic ceremonial common to East and

West, taught and used by great Churches who repudiate the Pope as vigorously as the Protestant Alliance, have been regarded as Popery, whereas much that is definitely mediæval and Roman has passed without censure because it was approved and practised by the sixteenth century Reformers. The surplice is far more "Roman" than the chasuble, and the form for a second consecration of the elements in the Prayer Book Mass is based on a theory of consecration more mechanical than any that Rome herself has officially promulgated.¹

There is, however, a more intelligent school of critics. Many who would not for a moment identify what is Catholic with what is Roman believe that in restoring what is Catholic to the Church of England, Anglo-Catholics have followed too exclusively the Roman model. In spite of the far greater friendliness shown them by the Orthodox Churches of the East and of the assurance they have that these Churches are fully Catholic, they have nevertheless chosen Roman interpretations of doctrines and Roman technique of worship, putting on one side not only the doctrine and ceremonial of the East but the

¹ In no other part of the Church than the Church of England is the consecration made to depend on the Words of Institution only. In the Greek Church there is also the Invocation of the Holy Spirit, while the Roman Church regards the whole Canon as a Consecrating Action whether in prospect or retrospect.

doctrine and ceremonial of their own country before the Reformation.

There are, however, important reasons why Anglo-Catholics look rather to Rome than to Constantinople or to the Canterbury of a bygone day. These reasons are not so much religious or doctrinal as reasons of psychology and expediency. A gap of nearly four hundred years lies between the modern Church of England and the past in which she enjoyed her full Catholic expression. Glorious as were those days, no doubt, they are not our own day. The Catholic Church does not stand still, she moves with the rest of civilization. In recovering English Catholicism it will not do to "go behind the Reformation" and try to bring back the Middle Ages; such efforts only justify the accusations of obscurantism and reaction which are brought against the Church. We want a Catholicism which is alive, progressive and modern, and this the Church of Rome provides. To the average Englishman she stands for all that is static and reactionary, but it requires only a slight contact with her to learn that though reactionary in her formularies, her living voice proclaims the needs of each successive generation. She is more modern than any Modernism, for her care is for the whole man, not only for that part of him which reads the *Spectator*. Therefore it seems natural for English Catholics to imitate her

methods, which are modern and effective, rather than to go back to some past period of Anglican history.

It would be no less a mistake to turn to a part of Christendom which, though equally admirable and venerable with Rome, is both geographically and temperamentally remote from ourselves and our ways. There is no doubt that by race and history we belong not to the East but to the West, and the things of the West will always seem closer to us psychologically as well as geographically, than the things of the East. Therefore it is not surprising that in their efforts to restore the Church of England to her rightful standard, Anglo-Catholics should look to Rome rather than Constantinople to see the modern working of the Catholic faith. After all, the purpose of Catholicism is not to build up a philosophical system but to build up a character. The Catholic character is the aim and justification of the Catholic faith, for we have reason to believe that the Catholic character is the character best fitted for union with the Divine, and therefore best able to fulfil the purposes of God. So in studying Catholicism we must not only study its creeds, credentials and history, but its pragmatic workings in society and in human nature, and naturally it is easier to follow such workings in the Western Church, geographically so close to us, than in the East, so far away and difficult

of access. Also it is natural to believe that western methods are more akin to our own psychology than eastern methods, and therefore are more suitable for our imitation. We cannot regard ourselves as a separate class of beings from our neighbours in Western Europe, therefore it is reasonable to believe that the Catholic ideas and practices which are suited to them are with certain modifications suited to us also.

At the same time there is no reason whatever that national characteristics should be suppressed, nor have we any real evidence of their being so. No doubt in certain isolated cases strange things have been done, and admiration of Rome has made certain clergy lose their heads. But instances of any slavish and unintelligent following of Rome are much more rare than the critics imagine. The rank and file of the Catholic Movement follows Rome because it is the only leadership they have. If Anglican authority would speak with a clear and Catholic voice they would be only too glad of its direction.

Only a superficial comparison between Roman Catholicism and the bulk of Anglo-Catholicism will show that the following is for the most part practical and discriminating. To take a trivial instance: in the Church of Rome the service of "Asperges" is ordered by the Congregation of Rites to precede the principal Mass of the day on Sundays and on Holy days, at whatever time

this Mass is sung or said. If Anglo-Catholics were mere slavish imitators of Rome such an important part of Sunday ceremonial would not be omitted, but for temperamental and local reasons the service of Asperges does not seem suited to English people, therefore after ninety years of the Catholic Revival its use is still rare. On the other hand a service such as Benediction, which has been found to appeal equally to the English and the Latin temperament, is widely used in the modified form under which it is tolerated in some dioceses, and has already obtained a deep hold on the piety and love of English people.

Also the Movement has done much to encourage the Anglican love of hymns, which may be said to bear the same relation to English religion as do paper flowers to the religion of the Continent. The Movement cannot claim the actual credit for reviving hymns, as English hymnody, till then suppressed within the limitations of Tate and Brady, was released by the Evangelicals, the Wesleys, Whitefield, Cowper and others. But the revival of hymns in the liturgical services of the Church was made general by the Anglo-Catholic Movement, at first under great opposition. John Mason Neale did the English Church one of his greatest services in the revival of the hymnal treasures of East and West. Hymns Ancient and Modern, at first

looked upon as a reprehensible expression of Popery, now almost driven out of even "Moderate" churches by the English Hymnal, made the art of hymn-singing a characteristic of the English Church. This is certainly not Roman—indeed it is very rare on the Continent among Catholics—and its revival and encouragement by Anglo-Catholicism shows how little the Movement is inclined to subject genuine English ways of self-expression to others which are foreign.

The future is not without danger. Catholics will have to realize that even certain justifiable advances in the Roman direction are likely to alienate a large number of Eastern Christians. They must never turn to Rome so as to lose sight of Constantinople; their vision must always be large enough to hold both the East and the West.

Also it is doubtful whether Rome's splendid political organization and her standards of rigidity and uniformity are as admirable as, in the midst of the chaos and conflicting standards of the English Church, Anglo-Catholics are sometimes led to believe. But the danger of Rome can never be a real one to those who observe the distinction between "the holy Catholic and Apostolic faith" and "Papal innovations." The cry of "Popery" has always been popular, and can always be successfully raised from year to year; but it does not always

mean the same thing. In 1860 it meant an eagle lectern, the surplice in the pulpit, the intoning of responses; in 1870 it meant Eucharistic vestments, candles and incense; to-day it means devotion to Our Lady, extra liturgical Devotions to the Blessed Sacrament, and the Malines conversations; some day it may actually mean what it says, but that day is not yet.

CHAPTER VII

THE TESTAMENT OF BISHOP KEN

“I die in the Holy Catholic and Apostolic faith professed by the whole Church before the division of East and West. More particularly I die in the Communion of the Church of England, as it stands distinguished from all Papal and Puritan innovations, and as it adheres to the doctrine of the Cross.”—From the last will and testament of Bishop Ken.

§ I

THE AUTHORITY OF THE UNDIVIDED CHURCH

BY what authority doest thou these things?
It is a misfortune that so much controversy has raged round the decorative details of Anglo-Catholicism, and that its foundations have been comparatively ignored. In its early days, when it first came out of Oxford, the storm centre was not so much general principles as side-tracks of belief and ceremonial. The uproar that led to the passing of the Public Worship Regulation Act was not roused by any extreme practices in the nature of Exposition or Benediction, or by any extreme pronouncement on the question of Papal Supremacy, but by the wearing of the surplice in the pulpit, the intoning of responses, the appearance of crosses on book-markers; and such it has been down to the present day. Many still believe that Anglo-Catholicism is chiefly concerned with matters of discipline and decoration, that it is without fundamental principles either in belief or practice. The result is that to-day, when the interest in details is dying of sheer exhaustion, men assert

that Anglo-Catholics have no general position nor any answer to the question " By what authority doest thou these things? "

Nevertheless the Movement began with the proclaiming of an authority. The Oxford Revival started with the assertion of the authority of the Holy Catholic Church as against the limited conception of a self-determining, self-sufficing national church. It was the action of their opponents which soon drew the Tractarians away from their main position to defend outposts, a defence they have been forced to keep up ever since. Anglo-Catholicism has existed from the first in an atmosphere of minor controversy, and it is not surprising that its central keep should sometimes have been lost sight of in the fog, by Anglo-Catholics themselves as well as by their foes.

To many their motive has appeared no stronger than mimicry. Moved by admiration of the mighty Church of Rome they have offered that Church the sincere flattery of imitation, approximating themselves as closely as possible to her standards, though reluctant to make the final step of submission to her authority. That certain Anglo-Catholics have justified this idea by their speech and conduct no one can deny, but at the same time it would seem that the number of these is much smaller than is generally supposed, and that the misconception is chiefly

due to the popular confusion of what is Catholic with what is Roman. It is astonishing how few people seem to be aware for any practical purpose of the existence of the great Orthodox Church of the East, with its steadfast witness to a non-Papal Catholicism; while false teaching and want of instruction can alone be responsible for the general idea that such doctrines as, for instance, the Real Presence and the Sacrifice of the Mass, or such practices as the Invocation of Saints and prayers for the dead were unknown before the tide of "Papal innovations" set in.

It is a misrepresentation of Anglo-Catholicism to believe that its object is simply to approximate Anglican standards of doctrine, discipline and ceremonial as closely as possible to those of the Church of Rome. Anglo-Catholics appeal to an authority that is both more ancient and more widespread than that of the Papacy. This authority was defined once for all by a man who lived long before the day of the Tracts, a man who nevertheless would have rejoiced to see that day. "I die," wrote Bishop Ken in his last will and testament, "I die in the holy Catholic and Apostolic faith professed by the whole church before the division of East and West. More particularly I die in the communion of the Church of England, as it stands distinguished from all papal and puritan innovations and as it adheres to the doctrine of the Cross."

Thomas Ken, Bishop of Bath and Wells, is a sturdy example of seventeenth century Anglo-Catholicism—of necessity more Protestant than Anglo-Catholicism is in milder times to-day. His position in the Anglican communion was eminent, historic and unchallenged. Of his loyalty to the national Church there can be no question, but in all matters he set first, as he tells us, the faith of the Catholic Church. He is, at the same time, an example of almost perverse loyalty to conscience and the right of private judgment, for though he was one of the seven Bishops arraigned by James II for opposing the "Declaration of Indulgence," he refused, when James was deposed, to take the oath of allegiance to his successor, and died a non-juror, deprived of his honours and his see.

With his definition of a Catholic, yet national Church, all Anglo-Catholics would agree. It points to the authority which has lain at the back of the Movement from its first days until now, the assertion of which was the beginning of the Revival, the appeal to which lies behind all Anglo-Catholic defences of what might be considered minor positions. First comes the undivided voice of the universal Church as it spoke in times past before men had made it stammer with their schisms. Next comes the local or national Church in so far as it abides by the past utterances of that universal voice and is

loyal to the Precious Blood which is the seed of Christendom.

This conception of authority of course presupposes a conception of the Church which is not held by the Church as a whole, and this presupposition is said to put Anglo-Catholics in the wrong at the start. Here, it is said, are the great Eastern and Western Churches, each claiming to be the one and only Catholic and Apostolic Church, and here is the Church of England, acknowledged by neither to be Catholic and Apostolic, yet nevertheless claiming that she equally with them, is part of the true Body of Christ. This claim is not made by Anglo-Catholics only—it would be endorsed by most thoughtful Anglicans of the present day.

The branch theory of the Church, as it has been called, is essential to the Anglo-Catholic position. It rests on a view of Christianity which is wider than that held either by Papal or Eastern Catholicism, since it holds that every part of Christendom which has maintained continuity with the past by a true succession of Apostolic Orders and teaching is part of the visible organization of the Body of Christ on earth. This view has, of course, been challenged in many quarters, but the only difference between the Anglican claim and that made by the great churches of the East and West is that it is not

an exclusive claim—it is a claim to be a part and not the whole.

As has been said before, this is the position of most Anglicans, and it is certainly the position of the Book of Common Prayer, which though it accuses other communions of error, does not make exclusive claims for Anglicanism nor unchurch its neighbours. Where the Anglo-Catholic theory goes beyond it, is in its insistence that where the Holy Catholic Church speaks with an undivided voice, through the seven Ecumenical Councils,¹ that voice must be taken for the voice of God the Holy Spirit, and its decisions be considered binding on all Christians, no matter to what portion of the shattered unity they belong.

It may be asked why the utterances of the Church before the year 1054, when the great schism between East and West took place, should be regarded as authoritative. May not the Church have erred long before that date? Certainly she taught in the last century of her undivided existence doctrines that were apparently unknown in the first. Have we any reason for regarding an undivided Church as infallible?

The authority of the undivided Church is based for Anglo-Catholics on the promises of

¹ Universal Councils, at which the whole Church was represented, as distinct from Councils which had only a local or partial representation,

Christ in Holy Scripture. "Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it. And I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven."¹ If these promises are not for Peter personally, and the whole Anglican case rests on the assumption that they are not, then they are for the Church as built on the apostolic rock. She thus has the promise of her Founder that her decisions on earth will be held binding in heaven, and this could not be unless they were to be inspired and guided by heaven.

Our Lord, speaking to His apostles before His death and resurrection, told them that "The Holy Ghost . . . shall teach you all things, and bring all things to your remembrance, whatsoever I have said unto you. . . . He will guide you into all truth . . . he shall receive of mine, and shall show it unto you."² The expression "guide you into all truth" implies a gradual development, and if the doctrine of the Church is living and not dead it seems inevitable that it should develop and grow like other living things.

The theory of development has no doubt occasionally been pushed too far, but something of the kind is inevitable if we are to have even

¹ Matthew xvi. 18, 19.

² John xiv. 26; xvi. 13, 14.

so much as Sunday observance and Infant Baptism. Certain doctrines must be said to have existed implicitly in the early Church and to have grown and developed later, like seeds in a garden which do not all come up at once. The test of true, as opposed to false development, is whether the seed of the doctrine can be found in the soil of Holy Scripture, as representing our Lord's teaching and the practice of the Primitive Church and whether the subsequent growth has been natural and inevitable. Undoubtedly such a practice as Infant Baptism did not exist in the early Church, but it seems thoroughly in accord with the mind of Christ as expressed in His words "Suffer little children to come unto me," and has been proved of urgent spiritual value by the corporate Christian experience. Such tests can be applied to other doctrines which did not develop so early, though most are of a greater antiquity than is popularly supposed.

There is good reason for choosing the first thousand years of Christendom, when it was outwardly united in one universal Church, as the period during which doctrinal development was on right lines, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit. Otherwise we are confronted with the alternative of deciding on an earlier date when the Church, as it were, ceased to be a reliable authority, or of considering her still as the active mouthpiece of the Holy Ghost—which, unless we

are Roman Catholics, is under present conditions liable to involve us in a certain amount of intellectual embarrassment. There is, of course, the appeal to the letter of the Scriptures, but modern criticism has made this a cramped and uncertain position, and the authority of "the Bible and the Bible only" exists only for a rapidly dwindling number of Protestants.

The modern Anglican tendency has, rather, been to take the first alternative, and fix some term of centuries for a reliable ecclesiastical authority. For some, Primitive Christianity has been the ideal, but modern research has tended to show the Primitive Church as too unsettled in her conditions to provide definite standards of doctrine and practice. She was finding herself in the teeth of outward persecution and inward dissension. Certain scholars thereupon fixed on the first six centuries as the flowering time of faith, after which it ran to seed. This allows for the Church to have passed the age of persecution and to have found her own standards. But it is bound to be an arbitrary appeal. If the first six centuries, why not the first five, or the first seven? There seems to be no sure ground for believing that for six centuries the Church kept her integrity and then lost it. She may have erred before then, or she may have erred later—if once we acknowledge that her living and undivided voice could err.

The same criticism does not apply to the first thousand years of Christendom, for definite outside circumstances compel us to treat that period as different from other periods of the Church's history, since it was the era of her undivided unity. Up to the year 1054 there was but one Church and her Councils spoke with the voice of the wide world, East and West. The rivalry of Rome and Constantinople shattered this outward unity and it does not seem unreasonable to believe that after this schism of East and West it would be impossible to look for the same authority.

Since the division the East has made no addition to the doctrinal deposit either in the way of definition or explanation. The West, however, has developed and defined the doctrine of Papal Supremacy, always a source of conflict, also the doctrine of the mode of the Real Presence, and certain others. The main body of Catholic doctrine had crystallized before the schism. In addition to the three historic Creeds there was the doctrine of the seven Sacraments, of the Real Presence in the Eucharist, though not of Transubstantiation, of the Invocation of Saints, though not the Immaculate Conception, of Purgatory, though not necessarily as a place of pain.

Anglo-Catholics claim that this body of doctrine which had crystallized before the great

Schism and which represents the voice of the Undivided Church, is necessarily of faith. What is more than this may be a matter of pious opinion but it cannot be claimed as binding on the faithful. What is less is less than the Christian religion.

Since the division, no separated part of the Church can claim to speak with the voice of the whole, as the mouthpiece of God the Holy Ghost. The divided Church has been compared to a broken mirror, each portion of which is equally a part of the mirror, though it can no longer give the clear and true reflections which could be seen in the unshattered glass. But in dealing with a living organism it seems better to use a living simile. One might compare the modern Church not so much to a broken mirror as to a broken personality—to one of those cases of personal dissociation which are such an interesting study to the psychotherapist. Owing to some shock or lesion, a part of the personality splits off, and assumes a character and even a name of its own, so that there are, as it were, two distinct and separate persons within one so-called individual. The dissociation may go further, and three or more personalities result. These may be totally ignorant of one another's existence, and each separately think it is the whole character. On the other hand, one personality may be aware of the others, who

themselves are ignorant of it and of each other. This situation seems to be very closely paralleled in the Church to-day. She is psychologically diseased, she has ceased to function as an individual, but has instead become a combination of three dissociated personalities, two of which ignore any existence but their own, while the third is aware of the other two, though unable to combine with them.

It is useless, under the circumstances, to expect either the whole Church, or one of the dissociated personalities within her, to speak with the voice of the Spirit which once spoke through her undivided mind. No authoritative voice can be heard till the neurosis is healed and the personalities unite. Here the simile gives us ground for hope. The broken mirror can never be mended so exactly as to be as before, but the broken individuality can be healed, if only a co-ordinating element is found. Such cures are usually effected by means of the personality which is aware of the existence of the others, and so becomes the means of bringing them and itself together into one reasonable unity. The Anglo-Catholic hope for the Church of England is that some day she may be able to perform this service for the Body of Christ.

§ 2

THE AUTHORITY OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND

However uncertain one may feel as to the precise aim of such diverse men as Cranmer, Ridley, Latimer, Hooper, and Overall, however doubtful as to even the minimum of agreement that they were in, one feels convinced that their object was not to establish a self-sufficing national Church, apart from the rest of Catholic Christendom. Of the corruptions of that Catholic Christendom they were unsparing scourges, of the right of a national and local Church to act for itself in "matters indifferent" they were unwavering champions, but they never dreamed that in condemning current abuses and in fighting to restore the national rights of churches they were doing anything less than restoring their Church in England to her original Catholic integrity—they had no idea of creating a new and English brand of religion any more than they had of founding a new Church.

It has lately become fashionable to speak of the "distinctive doctrine" of the Anglican Church, as if any doctrine peculiar to Anglicanism and distinct from the rest of the Catholic Church, was not bound to be in the same position as the

“ Papal and Puritan innovations ” of Bishop Ken. The whole Anglican position is a protest against “ distinctive doctrine,” whether found in Rome or in Geneva. The Church of England repudiates the modern Roman doctrine of the Papacy on the ground that it is the distinctive doctrine of the Church of Rome, unknown in the early Church and definitely rejected by the great Orthodox Church of the East. By the same token she repudiates the Puritan conception of the ministry and Sacraments—the distinctive doctrine of Continental Protestantism which holds that Episcopacy is, at best, merely a convenient and ancient form of Church government and not a channel of divine grace, and that the Eucharist is no more than a memorial of Christ’s death or a symbolic meal of fellowship. Such doctrine she considers a “ Puritan innovation.”

Therefore it ill becomes her to have “ Anglican innovations ” and “ distinctive doctrine ” of her own. The phrase “ distinctive doctrine of the Church of England ” is of quite recent date, and associated with various theological adventures of a kind no more creditable to logic than theology. Various theories recently put forth in certain high places on the Real Presence in the Eucharist are as much innovations on primitive Catholic teaching as the mediæval doctrine of Transubstantiation on one side or Zwinglianism on the other. In dealing with the Blessed Sacra-

ment the written word of the Book of Common Prayer observes a reticence which is of the true Catholic spirit. It simply states the fact that the Body and Blood of Christ "are verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful in the Lord's Supper," but makes no conjectures as to the nature or the mode of the change after Consecration. Theories such as "receptionism" or (more "distinctive" still) of a "real presence in the rite" are as much innovations as the Memorial doctrine of Zwingli, Luther's Consubstantiation,¹ or the mediæval theory of Transubstantiation which, by reducing the outward sign to an appearance only, overthrew the nature of a Sacrament. The Church of England is Protestant not only against one interpretation of the mode of the Real Presence, but against all attempts that have been made so far in the divided Church to interpret and define what the undivided Church treated as a mystery beyond the limitations of human definitions and interpretations.

Her relation to the rest of Christendom is that of a part to the whole. She cannot take upon herself to act or speak without regard to the rest of the Body of Christ. Therefore, if, on any occasion, her behests appear contrary to the

¹ The theory by which the substances of bread and wine co-exist with the substance of the Body and Blood of Christ after the consecration. The word "substance" is used in the mediæval sense, roughly meaning "personality" or "identity."

doctrine and practice of the Universal Church, Anglo-Catholics hold that the claims of the latter must prevail.

Of course in minor matters of discipline and ceremonial a national Church has always been an authority to herself as long as she acts with regard to the whole. The ignoring of these powers in a national Church and the imposition of a dead level of uniformity in minor matters, which are governed by considerations of temperament rather than considerations of fundamental truth and goodness, would lead to the frustration of one of the most vital gifts of the Spirit—the gift of individuality, whether national or personal. To reduce individuals to a dead level of institutional uniformity has for long been realized as a crime, and the same applies to races and nations. The true development of the individual can lead only to the greater solidarity of the race, just as the perfection of the parts means the completeness of the whole. Therefore the Church of England has a perfect right to speak for herself in minor matters of ceremonial and discipline.

§ 3

THE AUTHORITY OF THE PRAYER BOOK

The Book of Common Prayer claims as its authority the Holy Scriptures as interpreted by the Fathers. It acknowledges the fact that the appeal cannot be made to the Word alone, uninterpreted by the Fellowship which first spake it. It acknowledges that Holy Scripture is the Voice of the Church and apart from her has no authority or life. The amount of historical and ecclesiastical information open to the Reformers was much smaller than it is to-day, therefore it is not surprising that in reconstructing what they believed to be primitive doctrine they should have made many mistakes. Also their rejection of the later Fathers and the last three Ecumenical Councils seems arbitrary. But with their main object, which was to restore a pure and Scriptural Catholicism, Anglo-Catholics are in complete sympathy, though they may quarrel with much of its expression and detail.

They may point out, for instance, that such a practice as the Invocation of Saints is of extreme antiquity and that the custom of praying for the dead goes back to the first days of Christianity and beyond them. There were no doubt abuses

connected with both these customs, but equally grave abuses have attended their discontinuance. Spiritualism has little hold in Catholic countries where the doctrine of the Communion of Saints is fully taught, and it at least seems doubtful whether the Neapolitan peasant, waiting for the miraculous coagulation of the blood of St. Januarius, is in any worse position mentally or spiritually than the modern Englishman, who waits to hear Lord Northcliffe utter the secrets of the grave at a spiritualistic séance.

The Reformers substituted the bedside Communion Service—almost unknown in the early Church—for the primitive custom of giving Communion from the Reserved Sacrament. If this decision were to be regarded as infallible, thousands of pious souls would in these days be condemned to die without the Sacrament, since under modern conditions it is impossible for a busy parish priest, in charge perhaps of ten or fifteen or twenty thousand souls, to provide a private Mass even in every urgent case of sickness. As for the liturgical construction of the Mass itself, Cranmer deliberately flouted primitive rules, and broke up the good order of the Canon, so that he might give an emphasis to Communion which, though of course it is to be found in early liturgies, was never without the balance of an equal weight on the sacrificial aspect of the rite. The result of this slurring and

under-stressing of the venerable doctrine of the Eucharistic sacrifice was not, as the reformers hoped, to restore Communion to its primitive frequency, but simply to banish the whole service from the common worship of Englishmen. While Communion was becoming more and more frequent under the Counter-Reformation in the Church of Rome, they became more and more rare in the Reformed Church of England, until paradoxically, the doctrine of the Eucharistic Sacrifice was rescued and restored by the Oxford Movement, whereupon it was found that the practice of frequent Communion revived also.

Only extremists would be likely to see disloyalty in criticism of the Reformers and their actions, or in an effort to right any wrongs that may have been done *Ecclesia Anglicana* in the zeal of their day. They made no claim either to infallibility or self-sufficiency. Their avowed intention was to return to a primitive and pure Catholicity, such as they held to be the faith and practice of the Church in the days before mediæval corruptions and innovations. But they did not even agree among themselves as to what that pure Catholicity consisted of, and they were forced, moreover, by the circumstances of their time into compromises and minimum statements. That the Prayer Book must be regarded as both seems obvious when we realize that the Act which promulgated the Prayer Book of 1552, the

extremity of liturgical Protestantism reached in England, saw fit to declare at the same time that the Prayer Book of 1549, so infinitely richer, and abounding in practices considered "Roman" at the present day, was "a very godly order and agreeable to the Word of God." The minimum was not held to condemn the maximum.

The spirit of the Reformation was a spirit claiming as its authority the voice of the undivided Church, and to that spirit as to that authority Anglo-Catholicism is true,¹ though it quarrels with the letter that is supposed to express them—for the simple reason that it does not express them either clearly or fully. Anglo-Catholics maintain that the Prayer Book is more susceptible of Catholic interpretation than many of its users imagine—indeed much of the early work of the Revival was devoted to the recovery of the Prayer Book standard—but they cannot regard it as a really satisfactory embodiment of the authority to which the Reformers themselves appealed. That being so they do not feel guilty of disloyalty either to the English Church or to the Reformation if in their work for the recovery of the spirit of the Reformers' aims, the letter of their undertaking must inevitably be scrapped.

There is, however, the difficulty of the general

¹ "The Church of England has, from the Reformation, held implicitly, in purpose of heart, all which the ancient Church ever held."—Dr. Pusey, "The Rule of Faith," p. 42.

subscription and assent to the Book of Common Prayer and the Thirty-nine Articles which is required of all Ordination Candidates. This, of course, affects the clergy only, but it is a matter which troubles many. The answer partly lies in the fact that Catholicism is a living faith which cannot see the letter apart from the spirit which informs it. Just as it cannot see the letter of the New Testament apart from the spirit of the early Christian community by which it was written, nor apart from the spirit of later generations of Christians who have tested and interpreted it by the common Christian experience, so it cannot see the letter of the Book of Common Prayer as anything rigid or literal or apart from the spirit of the men who first compiled it, nor apart from the experience of later generations of Anglicans who have tested and interpreted that letter in the laboratory of common life.

Four centuries of Anglicanism have proved to many besides Anglo-Catholics that much in the Prayer Book concerns outlived disputes and philosophies which have had their day. In blunter words, the Prayer Book "dates"—and not for Anglo-Catholics only. The terms of assent to the Thirty-nine Articles have been altered in the interests of all parties in the Church, and modern Bishops are usually very tender with the consciences of their clergy in administering the oath even as it now stands. Anglo-Catholics

are probably no further from the Reformers' mind on such matters as "The Sacrifice of Masses" and "The Romish Doctrine Concerning Purgatory" than is the Central Churchman on "Good Works before Justification," of which it is said, "we doubt not but that they have the nature of sin."

In the same way, the literal observance of the order and rubrics of the Book of Common Prayer has long become impracticable for all schools of thought. There is a story told of a certain Bishop who remonstrated with one of his clergy for interpolations in the Order of Holy Communion, and obtained from him an undertaking to use the Prayer Book and the Prayer Book only in his church. Going there shortly afterwards to administer Confirmation he asked the incumbent what hymns he had chosen for the service.

"But there are no hymns, my Lord—the Prayer Book makes no provision whatever for hymns in the Order of Confirmation. It would be violating my undertaking to your Lordship if I introduced them."

The Bishop said no more, not being without that sense of humour which has such remarkable survival value in the Anglican episcopate. But later he had occasion to speak of the two addresses usual at such times, one before and one after the rite.

"But, my Lord, the Prayer Book does not mention even one address. To introduce a

sermon here would be an interpolation, a violation of my undertaking."

The usual Confirmation Service as administered to-day by almost every Bishop of the Anglican Church is a violation of the letter of the Book of Common Prayer. The same applies to most of the other services. Rubrics have become obsolete, and if communicants can nowadays approach the altar without sending in their names beforehand to the Curate, as plainly enjoined, the Curate on his side feels justified in saying the entire Mass even when there is no one to communicate with him as enjoined by another rubric.

In many matters the plain letter of the Book of Common Prayer favours the Anglo-Catholics. For instance, the rubric at the end of the Ministration of Publick Baptism of Infants evidently contemplates a very early age for Confirmation, a right of Christ's little ones which is commonly denied them at the present day—while the Ornaments rubric not merely allows but enjoins the vestments and ornaments which in the sixties and seventies of the last century roused the opposition both of the mob and the episcopate.

Anglo-Catholics do not profess to observe the letter of the Book of Common Prayer any more than any other group of churchmen. Their loyalty to its spirit, as has already been said, consists in their efforts to restore their Church to

a pure and ecumenical Catholicism, which was the aim of the Reformers themselves, though it was an aim overset by the sins, negligences, and ignorances of their day.

§ 4

LOYALTY TO THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND

It will be objected that the Anglo-Catholic conception of authority involves obedience to a voice that no longer speaks and has not spoken for nearly a thousand years; therefore it runs the risk of binding the Anglo-Catholic party, if not the whole Church of England, to a dead past. If the Church is to live she must move, and how is she to move if she has to sit listening to the voice of the dead?

This in a measure is true. But Anglo-Catholics claim that part of the strength of their position lies in a refusal to ignore facts. It is no more deplorable than it is true that Christendom is divided, and it is only natural to believe that the work of God is hindered thereby—not merely by the scandal of a divided Church in the eyes of the heathen, or the danger of divided counsels in the ears of the faithful, but by a limitation of the Church's whole sphere of operation, a check on

her going forward, a silence of the Divine Voice when men wait for it to speak.

This only means that the prospect of a speedy reunion of Christendom is absolutely essential to the Anglo-Catholic conception of the Church. Indeed the Movement is not so much bound to the past as to the future. It lives less by tradition than by hope. Only in the present we have no continuing city, so we seek one to come.

The position of the Church of England seems specially to fit her for bringing the separated groups of Christendom together; but any prospect of reunion is out of the question until she comes into her own again, and approaches her fellow-Catholics in the East and in the West with a faith as sound and as full as theirs.¹ It is the special function of the Anglo-Catholic Movement to help the English Church to the recovery of all that she has lost, of all of which she has been despoiled and robbed in the past, so that she may show herself to Christendom and to the world as the true King's Daughter.

Anglo-Catholicism is accused of lawlessness, because it sees things as they are and yet cannot tolerate them as they are. It does not see one infallible, undivided Church, but a Church torn

¹ "If and when we find that you hold the Faith which we hold, then, *ipso facto*, we must and will recognize you as part of the Church."—Professor Comnenos, as quoted in conversation by Canon J. A. Douglas in a letter of the *Church Times* of July 31st, 1925.

by a tremendous schism a thousand years ago, and then again after another five hundred years. It does not see one self-content and self-sufficient Church of England, because it sees that Church only as one of the torn members of the Body, and a member which has suffered a special mutilation and humiliation all its own.

To tell Anglo-Catholics that because they are not satisfied with the Church of England they ought to leave her and join the Church of Rome is to misunderstand their position entirely. They have no more stomach for Papal than they have for Puritan or Anglican innovations. They believe that the Church of England, with all her faults, is the Catholic Church in this country, that she is their Mother and that their allegiance is to her, though such allegiance does not call them to be either blind or silent as to her faults.

There are, of course, two conceptions of loyalty. One is that expressed in the phrase "My country right or wrong," which is not so much loyalty as unflinching acquiescence. If loyalty to the Church of England involves an unquestioning acceptance of all that she has ever done in the past, is doing at the present, or will do in the future, an implicit belief in the infallibility of her numerous discordant voices, a conviction that as a national and local branch she has power to set aside the teaching of the undivided Church, then Anglo-Catholics will agree that such loyalty is

impossible for them. But there is another kind of loyalty—which costs more. A man may love his country so much that he will face loss and suffering in the attempt to save it, against its will, from error and ruin. Or to change the simile, a man may belong to a family which, in some earlier generation, he believes to have committed a serious mistake and to have put itself into an essentially false position. It would scarcely be regarded as disloyal if in these circumstances he should do his best to bring his family to a sense of its error, and labour to set right the early mistake and to avoid making similar mistakes in the future, even if his family's attitude were scarcely sympathetic to his endeavours. Just because he is conscious that this particular household is his family and has a claim on him which no other better organized or more respectable household can ever have, and because he loves his family and cannot bear to see it at a disadvantage with the rest of the community, or suffering from the lack of anything that it needs, it seems unfair to call his attitude disloyal as compared with that of the man who shuts his eyes to his family's faults, refusing to acknowledge that it is anything less than perfect, or the man who, dissatisfied with his family both in the past and in the present, deliberately leaves it, making more profitable alliances.

The Prince Consort recommended that "A

system of marked disfavour should be adopted and steadily persevered in towards those who promulgated principles likely to disturb the peace of the Church; and he observed that even the most active, ambitious, and talented of the High Church party were not likely to hold to principles which permanently excluded them from preferment."

These were the words of Lord Aberdeen in 1853, and it may be said that the recommendations of Albert the Good have directed the policy of the Church of England ever since—though without the effect anticipated. An Anglo-Catholic may possibly become a Colonial Bishop and die of overwork and a tropical climate, but that is as a rule the highest award open to him and by no means commonly bestowed. He starts his ministerial career knowing that he will see his Moderate and Evangelical fellow-ordinands promoted to their rectories and vicarages many years before any such preferment comes to him; indeed, that he may spend his days as an Assistant Curate on a salary somewhere between two hundred and three hundred pounds a year. Because, for this reason, he neither alters his opinions nor abandons his Church, he cannot feel convinced that he is necessarily disloyal to her.

The vision that he sees before him is of an English Church restored to the fullness of

Catholic faith and practice and thus enabled to play her appointed part in the mighty work of the reunion of Christendom. He sees his Church to-day as defrauded of her Catholic rights and hampered in the work for which he believes her specially destined. He strives to give back to his Mother her lost inheritance, and in the course of that striving he has to contend with her own misunderstanding of his aims, her own frustrations of what he does for her honour and the glory of God. He passes for a man without loyalty because his love is not blind. He passes for a man without authority because he will not listen to any of the conflicting voices of the present age, but waits till the Holy Ghost speaks again as He spoke in time past through the mouthpiece of an undivided Christian experience.

CHAPTER VIII
LOOKING FORWARD

§ 1

THE CATHOLIC AIM

THE aim of the Anglo-Catholic Movement as defined in the Congress Handbook of 1923 is "to extend the knowledge of the Catholic faith and practice at home and abroad and by this means to bring men and women to an acknowledgment of our Lord Jesus Christ as their personal Saviour and King."

So often the main object of the Catholic Revival has been lost sight of in side issues which, if less important, are more sensational, that it is essential to put all the emphasis in one's power on this declaration of the Anglo-Catholic Congress Committee. The object of the Movement is not merely to brighten religion by the introduction of beauty and ceremonial, nor is it to revive an effective system of Church government, to remodel the Anglican Church on the greater and more successful Church of Rome with a view to recovering the lost allegiance of the English people. Nor is it ultimately the recovery of certain doctrines and practices which were submerged in the tide of German and Swiss

theology at the time of the Reformation; nor even the re-union of Christendom by means of a re-catholicized Church of England. The aim of the Anglo-Catholic Movement is simply conversion to a Person—to personal union with the Christ, Who for so long has been kept outside the world He has redeemed.

All other issues of Anglo-Catholicism—from the restoration of worship to the reunion of Christendom—are merely means to this end. The followers of the Movement believe that the Catholic religion is the only sure and effective way by which mankind as a whole can be brought into union with Christ.

This is a bold claim, and some effort must be made to prove it, though of course the only convincing proof is in experience. Pragmatism does not stand very high in modern philosophical and theological consideration, but it has always been humanity's final proof of a pudding. The fact that Catholicism is a life as well as a belief makes it necessary that it should be tested by human experience, and all the doctrines of the Church, its gospel and its creeds, have been so tested before they were declared of faith. The Catholic religion is indeed itself the corporate Christian experience—doctrines were not formulated by the Councils until they had long existed in the experience—in the life, in fact—of the Church as a whole. Catholicism is

the true democracy of faith since it does not take its beliefs from the few, but from the many. The few in authority formulate these beliefs, but they formulate nothing which has not already existed and proved itself in the experience of the many. The Holy Scriptures themselves merely reflect the corporate experience of the fellowship, and their inspiration lies not in the dead letter but in the inspiration of that living fellowship by the eternal spirit of Life.

Catholicism represents the general experience of mankind as led by the spirit of God. Those who have held views contrary to it have never been more than a minority. There is no record of a heresy having become universal, for the reason that a heresy represents only a limited and incomplete experience. This does not mean only that it appeals to a limited number of human beings, or even that it appeals to them by reason of their differences from other human beings—thus creating a psychological as well as a theological schism—but that the belief itself is a limitation of experience, since every heresy if examined will prove that it is based on an idea of the limitation of either the power or the love of God.

For this reason Catholicism claims that it is the religion of all people, at all times, and at all places. It also claims that it is the religion of the whole man, body and soul, as distinct from

being for the salvation of his soul only. Therefore the Catholic believes that the Catholic faith alone can bring humanity as a whole to God.

§ 2

THE CATHOLIC CLAIM

The Catholic religion is universal because it is for all men at all times and in all places. It is based on certain fundamental needs of human nature, which are peculiar neither to the East nor to the West, to the past nor to the present. It has been held as a reproach against Catholicism that it embodies much that formerly belonged to pagan rites, that its origins can be traced in the ancient religions of Greece and Persia, and that many of its practices can be observed to-day in the Buddhism of China and Thibet. But such judgment is based on an old-fashioned view of comparative religion, not unlike that of the old Spaniards, who, arriving in Mexico, thought the devil must have been there before them, to introduce such profane parodies of their most holy faith as they found in the Sacramental meal of the Mexicans and in their expectations of a Saviour.

Catholicism would not deserve its own name,

or justify its claim to be a universal religion, if it did not embody all the universal instincts and expectations of mankind, such as had been groping dimly through the years before the birth of Christ. We have become accustomed to the idea that Christianity baptized into itself the best of the Jewish religion but we have yet to accept the idea that it baptized into itself the best of paganism too. We talk as in reproach of "the muddy waters of Mithras," not thinking that by virtue of Cana of Galilee even those waters have been made wine. The Preparation for the Gospel was not made only in Judea, but in Egypt, Persia, Greece, India, Scandinavia, Oceana, and the unknown Americas. Catholicism is the perfect harvest of the Golden Bough. Its indebtedness to pagan cults contemporary with its beginnings has probably been much exaggerated, but its affinity and union with the world's religious past cannot be exaggerated, and is its glory rather than its shame. As George Tyrrell once wrote: "Catholicism is the most fully developed branch of a tree which springs up from the very roots of humanity and bears traces and proofs of its kinship with every other branch of the religious processes. Its paganism bears testimony not only to its antiquity and universality but still more to the strength and vigour of the Christian spirit, which can subdue all things to its own needs and uses. . . . We

like to feel the sap of this great tree of life in our veins, welling up from the hidden roots of humanity. To possess this sense of solidarity with all the religions of the world, to acknowledge that they are all lit, however dimly, by the same logos-light which struggles unconquered even through the thickest darkness—this is to be a Catholic.”

Other forms of religion which are eclectic only can never make the same appeal to humanity, because they do not appeal to humanity as a whole—to the simple as well as to the learned, to the poor as to the rich, to the man in the street as to the man in the oratory. The drawback to most forms of religion, and especially of English religion, is that they are for good people only. Take ordinary Anglicanism, for instance. It is an undoubted help and comfort to people already piously inclined, especially if they be also of at least moderate education, but it is extremely doubtful whether it has much power to turn the wicked man from his wickedness, or hold the ordinary careless and casual man in more than an outward conformity. There is a remarkable episode in Father Ronald Knox’s novel “The Viaduct Murder,” when the detection of a criminal hinges on a piece of religious psychology. The Anglican clergyman, of safe and moderate tendencies, and a Roman Catholic layman are both suspected of murder, but as one

of the characters points out, the Parson would not be a Parson or even a regular churchgoer if he were also a man capable of murder, whereas the Catholic religion does not appeal to virtuous, law-abiding characters only, and a man could be a perfectly sincere and devout Catholic while yet being capable of committing a crime under the stress of a violent nature and some sudden temptation.

It seems strange perhaps to find fault with a religion because its practitioners are incapable of committing murder. Nevertheless it is a fact that a religion which is "for good people only" has a tendency to produce only good people, that is, people whose spiritual level seldom rises above what might be described as a devout morality. The follies of the Saints, their reckless abandonment of self-giving, their raptures and their austerities, are as remote on one side from this "sober, god-fearing" religion as is murder on the other. Can one picture moderate Anglicanism producing an Ignatius Loyola, a John of the Cross, a Theresa of the Flaming Heart? At the same time the Church of those Saints has a tender care for the least of its little ones, and a power over sinners which is due in part to its utter disregard of conventional standards of respectability.

Just as there are religions for good people only, so there are religions which are for wise people

only, or for simple people only. It is doubtful whether Modernism is capable of making an appeal to any but the intellectually well-to-do, or whether certain forms of emotional Evangelicalism have anything to say but to the simple and uneducated. Catholicism on the other hand has a message for both, without asking either to be other than he is. It can offer a home to a Pascal or an Aquinas as well as to a peasant of Southern Europe or a native of Central Africa.

This is not because, as is sometimes represented, Catholicism demands and, by nature of its compelling attraction, obtains an intellectual surrender from the wise and learned. All it asks of an intellectual man is that he should use his intellect with due regard to the corporate experience of mankind and realize that wisdom is not an affair of the brain only but also of the heart. At the same time its language of rite and picture and symbol puts its truths within the reach of the least learned—it speaks a language which people of every country and tongue can understand. A French peasant may or may not understand the words of the Latin rite, but it is doubtful if the English peasant worshipping in “a tongue understood of the people” has half so much idea what he is doing when he goes to church,

§ 3

SACRAMENTAL RELIGION

Finally, Catholicism is universal because it is the religion of the whole man and not of his soul only. It preaches in the fullest sense the resurrection of the flesh, since in the fold of the Catholic Church the flesh as well as the spirit is born again. Of course it is not the only religion which cares for the body—most religions lay special stress on the “corporal works of mercy,” and all require their doctrinal and spiritual experience to be translated into outward conduct. But Catholicism stands distinguished from other forms of Christianity in that it is primarily a Sacramental religion—that is, the Catholic Church claims to be a special Mediator of the Divine Humanity of Christ by means of the outward things of His creation. Sacramentalism is the answer to Jacob Boehme’s cry: “How shall I, being in nature, attain the supersensual ground without destroying nature?”¹

The relation of the Divine Spirit to the world of matter has always been a subject of philosophical speculation, and Sacramentalism stands midway between the two extremes of

¹ Jacob Boehme, “The Way to Christ,” Part IV.

Deism and Pantheism. In Deism God is remote from His creation, the dim first cause beyond the grasp or touch of human emotion or human intellect. Deism was the philosophical position of the eighteenth century, it influenced men as various as Kant, and Locke, and Hume; it was also the popular Modernism of the Church of England of that time, the culture of the episcopate. To-day the Modernistic pendulum has swung to the opposite extreme, and the popular philosophy is Pantheism—God immanent in His works without any real existence apart from them. Sacramentalism stands for God both transcendent and immanent, also for a God personal and redemptive since He becomes as it were incarnate in the outward sign by an act of His own will. Sacramentalism also implies choice, since the Godhead chooses certain aspects of matter and certain states of life with which to identify Himself, and we do not have to face the pantheistic problem of the Divine Immanence in what is apparently ugly and evil. The sacramental system stands for the sanctification of all life by virtue of the incarnation of the Son of God. The Divine Humanity is brought into real and objective contact with ours, sanctifying our human nature and our human life by bringing it into union with His.

A Sacrament consists of an inward grace and an outward sign. In this sense it may not be

amiss to consider the Catholic signification of symbolism, as a great deal of modern prejudice against it arises from a misconception of the word. A symbol is *not* something which is used as a pretence or substituted for something else; a symbol has been defined as "something which manifests to human sense a non-sensuous reality." The creeds of the Catholic Church were anciently known as symbols by this same token. The important thing about a symbol is that it should be true, that is a symbolism which is natural and appropriate and not arbitrary and artificial; hence the value of a Catholic or universal language of symbolism, resting not on individual fancy but on the general and proved experience of the community. The sacramental system is not based on imaginative or interpretative fancy, but on common facts and states of human life which have become symbols and manifestations of divine life. The seven Sacraments of the universal Church are not mere rites or types or acts of arbitrary magic, but a declaration of God immanent in all states, and yet transcendent, and at all times personal.

"How shall I, being in Nature, attain the supersensual ground without destroying Nature?" In Baptism the child which has been born into the Kingdom of Nature is born again into the Kingdom of Supernature without losing his first citizenship, but taking it with him into the new

world of grace. As his body grows in strength and stature the gifts of the Holy Ghost bring spiritual strength and spiritual stature in the Sacrament of Confirmation. As the human body lives by assimilating and taking into union with itself both animal and vegetable life, the soul lives by feeding on the divine life and assimilating into itself the Divine Humanity of the Son of God in the Sacrament of the Eucharist. Human relationships are raised to divine purposes in the Sacrament of Marriage; while all work becomes vocation by virtue of the Sacrament of Order. Even sin and sorrow and sickness and death are not left outside the Sacramental system, but soul and body have their healing and restoration in the Sacraments of Penance and of Unction.

Thus there are no states of life, whether bodily, social, or spiritual, that are not covered by the sacramental system. The inward working through the outward is the very essence of the Catholic religion; and divorce between body and soul, any despising of things created, or the refusal to acknowledge human progress in the arts and sciences as the work of God—all these are directly contrary to the spirit of Catholicism, which stands for the sanctity of all life through the redeeming spirit. "I am come," says the Christ, "that ye might have life, yea, that ye might have it more abundantly."

"How shall I, being in Nature, attain the

supersensual ground without destroying Nature? "The New Life works through the old; it uses matter as the vehicle and manifestation of spirit. Through Christ, even the earth knows the glory of the resurrection of her body. As long ago water gave birth to the earliest forms of life, so now water is made the vehicle of the new birth and supernatural life. "We beseech thee, sanctify this water to the mystical washing away of sin," says the Priest at every baptism, "and grant that this child now to be baptized therein may receive the fullness of thy grace." As bread and wine have been the bodily food of man, giving strength and joy to his flesh, preserving his body in life, so now they are made his spiritual food, giving strength and joy to his soul, preserving his body and soul unto everlasting life. By natural modes they have been assimilated by man's body and made a part of his humanity, and now by spiritual modes they are assimilated by God and made a part of his Divine Humanity. "Hear us, O merciful Father, we most humbly beseech thee, and grant that we receiving these thy creatures of bread and wine according to thy Son our Saviour Jesus Christ's holy institution . . . may be partakers of his most blessed body and blood."

The Sacraments go down to the very roots of creation—they go farther down than our humanity, though our humanity is the means by which they descend, thus giving us our part as

mediators of the New Covenant. Water, bread, and wine—the elements and our own uses of the elements—inorganic and organic nature—are made the vehicles of supernatural life. Thus we are brought into a wonderful and mystical union between the earth and ourselves and the divine. Instead of remaining a creation at issue and at enmity with itself and separated from God, we become a creation working together in mutual love and co-operation in union with God. Thus is the atonement wrought between God and man and the earth.

It is a commonplace to call the Church the Body of Christ—everyone is familiar with the term, yet few would take it literally. Nevertheless the Church is literally the Body of Christ, since she is the sphere of operation of the Divine Humanity on earth. Her function is to absorb mankind into that Divine Humanity, so that God's Name is hallowed, His kingdom is come and His will is done on earth as it is in Heaven. It is her Lord's divine intention for her that she shall include all nations and all people. Then alone will the Body have become a perfect Man and attained unto the measure of the stature of the fullness of Christ.

Meanwhile she is as it were the world's priest, representing humanity before God and mediating the spirit of God to man. She is the advancing centre of human evolution—the

minority of the species evolving towards a new type. Progress is carried on by an evolving minority, which slowly brings the majority after it. Hence, perhaps, some of the references in the New Testament to the "few that are chosen." "Ye are the light of the world," said our Lord, "and ye are the salt of the earth."

"But if the salt have lost his savour . . ."

The universal Church is not merely the custodian of divine Truth, but the expression of divine Love, she has not only a Spirit which teaches and guides, but a Body which moves and grows and works. We have seen how the Spirit within her has been failed and silenced by the disunion of her mind and voice, so that she is unable to express the divine truth; and we see also how by this same disunion her body is bruised and wounded and is no longer a fit instrument of the divine Love. The need for unity in the Church is greater than even the need for a clear voice and an infallible authority; it is the need for the perfect expression to the world of the Divine Humanity of Christ, the Body of his Love.

§ 4

THE CHURCH OF THE FUTURE

There is something in the position of the Anglican Church which seems to fit her especially for an important work in the cause of Christian reunion, and this thought is the inspiration of Anglo-Catholics to-day. They believe that it is the function of the Church of England to mediate the Sacramental life to the English people. In this belief they stand distinct on one hand from Protestants, who do not believe in the life, on the other from Roman Catholics, who, while believing in the life, do not believe in the Church of England. Anglo-Catholics believe in both. If they did not believe in the sacramental life they would be content with the Church of England as she is, or rather as she used to be; if they did not believe in the Church of England they would long ago have given up the struggle and turned into the easier ways of Rome. But herein lies the real issue between Anglo-Catholicism and Roman Catholicism: Anglo-Catholics believe that whatever the abuses, difficulties and failures of the Church of England, she is nevertheless the Catholic Church in this country, and to her alone belong the keys of

heaven and the divine commission to feed and teach Christ's flock.

But Christianity has not only to be recommended to the people of England. It has to be recommended to the world; and Anglo-Catholics do not believe that Anglicanism, even if fully Catholic, is a religion for the whole world. On the contrary, they would not desire converts from any other branch of the Catholic Church, or wish any Catholic country to throw off its allegiance either to Rome or to Constantinople. But it seems to them that the special conditions of the Church of England—her doctrinal freedom and comprehensiveness, as well as her political and geographical position in the world to-day, give her special facilities for bringing the great sundered Churches of the East and West once more into unity with each other and with herself.

In the matter of doctrine and ecclesiastical polity she is perhaps most akin to the Orthodox Churches of the East. Like them she sets forth a non-Papal Catholicism, and when she has fully recovered her own standards in this respect, there will not be much to separate her either doctrinally or politically from the seven autocephalous Churches of the East. With the West she is linked by bonds of custom and temperament; her liturgy is western, her point of view is western, her psychology is western. Also it is difficult to

imagine that she could ever be so strongly anti-Papal as the Greek Church—she would give at least the primacy to Peter, since for her the issue between Constantinople and Rome is not an actual one.

At present hope is far stronger in the East than in the West, and it already seems probable that some sort of working agreement as to intercommunion with the Eastern Orthodox Church may be affected reasonably soon. Many courtesies and kindnesses have already been exchanged between Canterbury and Constantinople, the two Churches have worked together in many important matters, and those synods of the autocephalous Churches which have debated the question have formally acknowledged Anglican orders to be valid in the same sense as those of Rome. But the Church of England will never be able to forget that by temperament and history she belongs to the West, that she was in communion with Rome for nearly five hundred years after Constantinople had renounced that communion, and that to associate herself with Eastern Christianity without any regard to the Western, or hope of a wider reunion would be to outrage her own temperament as well as to deny her function.

There is another aspect of reunion which touches the English Church even more closely, since she alone has any concern with it. The

great Churches of the East and West have enough doctrinal ground in common, and a sufficiently deep historical association as well as geographical interpenetration to warrant the belief that they might come together of themselves without an intermediary; but there is a large section of Christianity whose link with historic Christendom is through the Church of England alone.

The innumerable sects of Protestantism may stand outside the visible unity of the historic Church, but that does not absolve the Church in this country from her special duty towards them. They are connected with her historically, many of them split off from her for faults not entirely their own, and all are the work of the Reformation, owing their existence to the crisis through which she was able to pass with at least the minimum of Catholic integrity. The thought of Protestant reunion has come into disfavour of late, chiefly owing to certain ill-judged movements towards it which would have imperilled the relations of the Anglican Church with the rest of Christendom. Considerations of history and geography have been put above considerations of Catholic doctrine and Catholic order and it has been feared that the Church in this country might compromise herself fatally with Pan-Protestantism, and thus postpone or perhaps destroy the hope of Catholic reunion.

Here again the function of Anglo-Catholicism

becomes important. In a fully catholicized Church of England there would be no danger of disastrous compromises. In any terms of reunion with the Protestant communions it would be realized that a strong measure of doctrinal agreement would be necessary before there could be any adjustments on points of order. Anglo-Catholics watch with hope and sympathy the progress of certain Catholic movements among the separated communions, such as Free Catholicism at home and the Lutheran High Church movement abroad. They see in these the peaceful penetration of Protestantism by the Catholic point of view, without which any hope of reunion is impossible. The Catholic and the Protestant philosophies will not mix, and any agreement as to outward government and co-operation would be meaningless without internal sympathy. It would of course be useless and undesirable to work for the submission of the separated communions. Submission may be reasonably demanded from rebels, from those who make the schism; but from those who are separated from the original schismatics by many generations, who have developed a definite tradition and religious experience of their own there must be a quite different sort of tactics; and in this matter a fully catholicized Church of England could move without fear, knowing that the hand she held out to Geneva would not

frustrate the hand she held out to Constantinople and Rome.

The ideal far ahead is a Church which shall be universal in the sense that humanity is universal. The ideal of the Reformers was a Church co-extensive with the English nation, a citizenship of the State which involved a citizenship of the Church; it was a limited and imperfect ideal, but it was a model for the greater conception, in which all the children of the human race are by virtue of their humanity children of the Church and of the Kingdom of Heaven.

Before this dream materializes not only must the Church be visibly united in one communion and fellowship, but those nations and races outside Christianity must be gathered into the faith which was meant for all the world. It is a truism as well as a tragedy that the work of the Church in the mission field is thwarted and robbed by her state of conflict and disunity at home. For this great Church of the future ever to come into being, it is absolutely essential that the Church of to-day should become visibly and fundamentally one. Improved means of communication are fusing the nations and continents into one vast internationalism, and there will be issues more terrible than we dare contemplate if, with humanity brought by civilization as it were into one nation, the Church remains split into countless national and warring sects.

National characteristics and tendencies will always be preserved in the Church of the Future, since these things are not superficial, but affairs of blood and climate, and to attempt to fuse all nations into one uniformity of thought and expression would be a crime against human nature. The race and the nation must be preserved as well as the individual; but they must be preserved as parts of the whole and not as uncombined and conflicting entities.

Thus the Church should fulfil our Lord's intention for her, and be in fact His Body—the type of humanity, representative mankind, attaining at last unto the measure of the stature of the fullness of Christ. For this perfect Man our modern industrial and national problems would disappear, since they are the fruit of divisions and antagonisms, impossible when humanity of all races, nations and vocations realizes itself as fundamentally one.

The vision of Utopia and of the Kingdom of God upon earth seems almost practical when we think of the power of a united Christendom speaking with the voice of the Holy Spirit and living the life of the Divine Humanity. But there are two ways of realizing this Kingdom. A reunited and effective Church does not necessarily mean a successful Church, and though we may picture such a Church as ushering in a Kingdom of God upon earth, we must not forget that his

ways are not our ways, nor his thoughts our thoughts. The body of Christ in the days of his flesh, when it had attained the measure of its stature, was lifted up upon the Cross, and that may be the fate of the Christian Church when she attains to the fullness of Christ. The disciple is not greater than his Master and it is possible that a cross may await the Church in the world—be the very token of her restored spiritual power.

“Marvel not, brethren, if the world hate you . . . but we know that we have passed from death to life, because we love the brethren. . . .”

APPENDIX A

THE WORD MASS

THE use of the word "Mass" by Anglo-Catholics has led to a certain amount of misunderstanding. To many people it means simply the Roman liturgy, and there has been talk about the danger of "bringing back the Mass"—"turning the Communion into the Mass," etc. The word has, however, no doctrinal or liturgical significance. It is derived from the sentence of dismissal at the end of the ancient rite—"ite, missa est" or "go, you are dismissed." "Missa" came in the process of time to be given as a popular name to the service itself and was Englished into "Mass." Anglo-Catholics use it merely in this sense—i.e., a convenient name for any valid celebration of the Holy Mysteries, whether it be by the Roman or the Orthodox or the Anglican rite. If the Church of England has not already got the Mass, no amount of ceremonial or "extreme" doctrine can restore it, whether as a substitute for Communion or anything else. The validity of the Mass consists in its proper celebration according to a sufficient rite by a duly ordained Priest, and if Anglo-Catholics did not believe that they have all this in the Prayer Book rite, even when celebrated in

the meanest circumstances by the most stoutly Protestant clergyman, they could not remain members of the Church of England.

The word was retained in the first Prayer Book of Edward VI, but dropped in the second, and never restored. Anglo-Catholics have been blamed for reviving a name which the reformers discarded because of its associations with Rome and with mediæval superstition, and which is still looked on askance by many English people to-day. Their answer is that popular prejudice is due to want of instruction and that it is a pity that the dead strifes of the sixteenth century should be able to keep out of common use one of the most venerable and honourable names for the celebration of the Holy Mysteries, which has also the merit of simplicity and convenience.

As the Eucharist comes more and more into its rightful position in the Church of England the need is more and more apparent for a name which can be used frequently in common speech. In the days when it was rarely celebrated, the need was not so urgent, but to-day church people are continually speaking of the service, and many shrink from the common use of such a title as Holy Communion, with all the sacredness of personal experience which it implies. Also the name applies only to one aspect of the rite and is scarcely appropriate when there is no general Communion of the people. The title "Eucharist" is of course both old and beautiful, but it again stresses only one aspect of the rite, and has moreover rather a theological air about it. "The Lord's Supper," "The Holy

Mysteries," are other titles which, though ancient and appropriate, have their obvious drawbacks.

The need for a popular name for the liturgy has been made apparent by the moderate type of Anglicanism which has evolved the title "Celebration." This title is both meaningless and misleading. The word Mass is of course meaningless in itself, but it is not misleading. It can refer to only one thing, whereas the meaning of "celebration" can be guessed only by its context. It has no exclusively religious associations and seems an inadequate and ambiguous name for the mysteries of our redemption. The word Mass on the other hand has none but religious associations, and all the dignity of antiquity and universal use. It involves no belief in Transubstantiation, as it was in use long before this doctrine was defined; it was abandoned by the Church of England only under the influence of continental Protestantism and in circumstances which now no longer exist. Its restoration emphasizes both her continuity with her own past and her oneness with the universal Church around her.

APPENDIX B

MAGIC, SUPERSTITION, AND A MECHANICAL DOCTRINE OF THE SACRAMENTS

THERE are certain accusations brought against Catholicism which seem to depend on a misapprehension not only of Catholic doctrine but of the meaning of words.

The word "magic," for instance, has been freely used in connection with the Church's sacramental system. But the whole essence of magic is that it consists in a power *over* things spiritual, obtained by the magician. This power is acquired in various ways, either by some act of propitiation, or by the use of a formula (which may partly account for the accusation, since some sort of formula or form is essential for the valid ministration of the Sacraments, though if the use of a formula necessarily involves magic, then both chemistry and cookery will have to be included in the magical arts). The power can be used as the magician wills, either for good or evil, as the magic is white or black; but it undoubtedly resides in the magician, and is completely under his control during the term of the contract. On the other hand, the whole essence of sacramental religion is that the minister of the Sacrament has no power of

himself but is the instrument of the Spirit working through and by him. The fact that no moral considerations condition his mediation—in other words, that “the unworthiness of the minister hinders not the effect of the Sacrament”—is (besides being the only condition of security to the faithful) merely a further emphasis of the fact that his function is impersonal, that his personality is wiped out by the Spirit whose instrument he is. That the benefits of the Sacrament are arbitrary and not morally conditioned by the state of the recipient is a direct misrepresentation of Catholic doctrine, which has always taught that the means by which a Sacrament is received is faith. An unworthy Communion not only fails to benefit the Communicant but definitely condemns (in Prayer Book language, damns) him. An absolution is invalid if there is no true repentance. The conditions of Infant Baptism are somewhat different, as there can be no actual faith in the recipient here. But they rest on the corporate faith of the Church, the essential oneness of humanity making a corporate gift. If the child should grow up without making that faith his own, the baptism, like the unworthy Communion, would be to his “damnation.”

Superstition is another impeachment which involves a misapprehension of the meaning of the word. To believe false doctrine is not necessarily superstition, nor to act on the supposition of false beliefs. To adore the Sacred Elements in the Eucharist under the belief that they are the Body and Blood of Christ would

not be superstition even if such a belief were false, since it would be adoration offered to the Divine Being, and the error would exist only in imagining that the Divine Being was where he was not.

Superstition may be said to lie in the separation of cause and effect. Thirteen people sit down to table, the one who rises first from the meal happens to die within the year. It is superstition to attribute his death to the number at table, which is a totally arbitrary and inadequate cause, whereas the normal accidents and uncertainties of human life would provide sufficient reason to suppose that in so large a company as thirteen one at least should have some ill-fortune awaiting him during the coming year.

Therefore superstition amounts to a blasphemy against law, and makes the superstitious man a traitor to the universe. It is the prime cause of fear in the world, for it involves separation, and separation is the cause of fear as unity is the cause of love. The function of Catholicism is the very opposite of superstition since its function is to unite matter and spirit in one universal law. While they are kept apart and held to be two independent, separately moving things, then superstition must work as a condition of their severance. But united in one law by the sacramental system, superstition cannot live, since it thrives only on broken unities.

It is this insistence on law, law governing spirit as well as law governing matter, which has caused some to accuse the Catholic theory of the Sacraments of being mechanical. To many

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people, even to those who believe in a rigidly law-bound universe, the spiritual is unconditioned, nebulous, and uncertain. To many people, too, the idea of law suggests bondage, simply because our experience of law is of being "under the law." Our imaginations have still to teach us of a law which is free because it is an internal condition of being instead of an infliction from without. The Catholic theory of the Sacraments does, indeed, involve a definite law for their administration—certain conditions have to be complied with if certain results are to be obtained. But we find this everywhere—when we eat and when we breathe, when the sun rises, when the tides flow. It is surely no honour to the spiritual to believe that it acts in ways apart from the great universe which it informs. However, it is true that all the laws by which Spirit functions are not known to us, and therefore that Spirit is emphatically not bound to the laws we know. Just as we have reason to believe that there are other ways of communication between human beings besides speech and writing and association, though these ways are uncertain because we do not know the laws that condition them—as, for instance, the laws governing telepathy—so we know that there are other ways of union between spirit and matter besides the normal way of the Sacraments. But the Church, being the Divine Humanity, the Body of Christ on earth, is here to point out the normal way. It is mechanical only in the sense that the whole universe is mechanical, depending on conditions, combinations, causes, and effects—in other words, on law.

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